THE CHINESE SPY;

OR,

EMISSARY from the Court of PEKIN,

Commiſſioned to examine into

THE PRESENT STATE OF EUROPE.

Tranſlated from the CHINESE.

In SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
Printed for S. BLADON, in Pater-Noſter-Row.

MDCCLXV.

BRITISH MUSEUM
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THE CHINESE SPY.

LETTER I.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE French plenipotentiary who is to put an end to all the diſturbances in Europe, is come; but one would think he was not ſure of his point, or that it was a doubt with him whether what he brought would be glad tidings to the nation; for ſo far from making any ſhow or noiſe, as uſual in them who come to do a people a good turn, he ſtole into London in the night time, and

ſilently ſlinked to his quarters. This miniſter has already been tried in ſeveral weighty negotiations, where he always came off with great honour; and indeed a novice in politics would, by no means, do here.

This plenipotentiary has gone through his courſe of intereſts of princes at Rome; a court were the moſt vivacious paſſions ſhroud themſelves under patience, reſerve and moderation, which are likewiſe the ſureſt means for attaining the higheſt views of ambition. It is ſuch a man only who can be a match for this court, to face the haughtineſs of the miniſters, the pride of the nobility, and the outrageous rudeneſs of the commonalty.

The great work of the peace is however thought to be finally concluded; and this miniſter is only to plane down a few inequalities, which project a little above the level of politics. I cannot tell thee much of him, having no perſonal acquaintance with him; I have only heard that he has peruſed a great many books, viſited a great many women, and herded much with eccleſiaſtics.

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LETTER II.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

IN France I wrote to thee about a particular ſociety of bonzes there, called Jeſuits, who, at their ſeparation from the world, make a vow of ambition, and ingraft their loftineſs and arrogance on chriſtian meekneſs and ſelf-denial. The parliament of Paris is come to a reſolution of baniſhing them out of the kingdom for ever. No mention is yet made of the reaſons which have moved that court to inflict on ſuch perſons a puniſhment, which, in this kingdom, is uſually the lot of vagabonds, banditti, or wretches who can give no account of themſelves. This tribunal herein appears to me too ſevere, or not ſufficiently ſo; for if theſe bonzes are guilty of high treaſon, as many charge them with it, to expel them from ſociety is not enough; if ambition be all their crime, exile is too much, ſince, in the latter caſe, all the different orders of the monar-

chy ſhould be ſuppreſſed, as moving to the ſame end through by-ways.

The French government in moſt of its deliberations is too late, and would cure the diſeaſe when it is got beyond all remedy.

The cauſe of the extirpation of theſe bonzes ſhould have been laid before the tribunal of all chriſtendom, inſtead of only that of Paris; all the ſovereigns ſhould have at once agreed to extirpate them; for what ſignify theſe particular ejections of the members of this body, but to make it the more dangerous? France lies amidſt catholic countries, who will harbour theſe exiles: here they will ſhelter themſelves againſt the perſecutions of that crown; and the conſequence will be, either that they will practiſe their wickedneſs, being out of the reach of puniſhment, or they will patiently wait till a weak reign ſhall favour their reſtoration; and ſuch a triumph will increaſe their arrogance and ambition.

Theſe bonzes leave behind them a party, which will be continually pleading their cauſe, and intriguing for their return; it will lay hold of the firſt blind and ſuperſtitious prince, with whom they may eaſily compaſs

paſs their favourite point. This is not the firſt time that France has rid itſelf of this ſociety; but ſome ſcions having been left, the jeſuitical ſtem has always ſhot up again, bloſſomed, and ſpread its branches wide. In ſhort, exiling and recalling this ſociety have only ſerved to make it more haughty and aſſuming.

An Italian politician uſed to ſay, that, if princes were to be touched, it ſhould be only their head; and it is only in their bodies that religious orders ſhould be attacked.

Theſe bonzes, in the manner of their departure, pave the way for their revocation, receiving their ſentence with the moſt placid reſignation, firſt raiſing up their looks to heaven, as imploring juſtice for ſuch an injury, then with downcaſt eyes ſubmitting to the yoke. Never vanity ſtooped ſo low. Such is the diſintereſtedneſs of theſe good fathers, that it is not the loſs of their riches which affects them, they only lament the ſouls that they are thus forced to abandon; and amidſt all their obedience, they have ſo good an opinion of themſelves, that, from this very time, they look upon France as a country given up to hereſy.

Their condition is pitied, and their obedience affects the people to the very ſoul. The univerſal hatred of them is turned into compaſſion. The extirpation of them is, as it were, a toothing for their re-eſtabliſhment; their humiliation will turn to their honour, and by their very defeat they will be gainers: nay, their ambition may become neceſſary; for in ſome European monarchies there are ſuch vices. I do not ſay but France may do without theſe bonzes; yet is it my opinion, that to draw from their extirpation all the advantages in view, many alterations analogous to this exile ſhould have been made; but of theſe the parliament of Paris has not the leaſt conception. It is a misfortune, and a very great misfortune to France, that this ſupreme court will be often intermeddling with ſtate affairs, without a ſingle ray of political knowledge: it blunders on in its notions without looking before or behind. Another common fault in it is, not to ſupport its ordinances: its decrees are moſtly detached, and thus generally prove of little effect.

The utter extirpation of theſe bonzes, whoſe power in France was thought to be without any bounds, and now aboliſhed and

and ejected without the leaſt clamour or commotion, lays open a great fault in the conſtitution; which is, that the French government has attained to the very height of deſpotiſm, there being now no body or ſociety in the kingdom, whether political, civil, or eccleſiaſtical, which can counterpoiſe its caprices, or make a ſtand againſt the will of the prince, or ſo much as that of the upper courts.

LETTER III.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao-yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

London.

I Have before mentioned the ſerioufneſs and gloom of this nation in every thing, even its pleaſures and diverſions; I ſhall now give you a word about the ſtate of ſociability, as the image of that diſpoſition.

It is not from chance or caſualty that a people is dull and melancholy; there is ever a firſt cauſe, which gives them that ply: the ſource of Engliſh ſerioufneſs lies deep; perhaps it muſt be looked for in the origin of their political conſtitution.

Charles, king of England, a gay, merry prince, finding this people without intercourſe, ſo as to be almoſt ſeparated from itſelf, was for bringing them together, and making them more ſociable. Accordingly the theatres were opened again; every city and town had its aſſembly, and the nation was ſet a dancing together: but the ſound of fiddles only gave it a leſs gloomy appearance, without making it more ſprightly.

Since Charles's time the ſpectacles and diverſions have proceeded on the ſame plan, but with as little ſucceſs.

A certain turn of petty ſecond cauſes have in this century ſocialiſed them a little. Were it not for an herb infuſed in water, which twice a day brings the Engliſh together at a table, they would meet the ſeldomer. Tea connects ſociety, and makes the Britons not to live ſo much apart

Not that there is no company in England, but this company is not companionable. Here is little or nothing of that connection of mind and heart which is the eſſence of real acquaintance: they viſit one another as elſewhere, but it is coldly and indolently.

The

The Engliſh intercourſe is ſerious and heavy to the laſt degree; they ſay talking ſpoils converſation, and very careful are they not to fall into this ſuppoſed fault.

A nation, which by conſtitution is led to ſociality, may do very well in a large capital; but that, where every one is ſhunning another, ſhould live in ſmall towns.

I cannot for my life conceive why a city has been built in England, which contains almoſt the whole nation; this, I think, could ſuit only a people whoſe natural gaiety inclined them to lodge together.

That there ſhould be a Paris is nothing ſtrange, but I am quite amazed that there ſhould be a London.

It was not worth while building a huge city for every inhabitant to be a ſtranger in it. Moſt of the Engliſh, by living in the midſt of London, as it were go out of the world; one hears no more of them than if they were in the furthermoſt part of the Eaſt-Indies.

I have been ſhown a wealthy Londoner, and I could name many ſuch, who for forty years paſt has riſen at ſix, at ſeven ſmokes two pipes of tobacco, at eight drinks four diſhes of tea, walks in his garden till one

in the afternoon, at two eats his roaſt beef, drinks two pots of ſtrong beer at three, at four ſwallows three bottles of port, at five gorges himſelf a ſecond time with tea, at ſix t'other couple of pipes, and conſtantly paſſes the remainder of the evening in fuddling.

A calculation has already been made of what this worthy citizen will have done for the numerous family of London, of which he has been a member theſe ſixty years.

He will have ſmoked ſixty-four thouſand ſeven hundred pipes of tobacco, he will have drunk one hundred twenty-nine thouſand four hundred diſhes of tea, will have eaten thirty-two thouſand eight hundred and fifty pounds of beef, will have guzzled forty thouſand nine hundred and fifty quarts of beer, and have ſwallowed ſeventy ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five bottles of wine. What a loſs to ſociety will the death of ſuch a ſociable perſon be!

LETTER IV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

WAR has introduced here a kind of game of chance, where the citizens every day venture a great part of their ſubſtance. The ſcene is at Jonathan's Coffee-Houſe, and the ſtock of the game the national debt, which is bought and ſold again continually. The nation may be ſaid here to play for itſelf. Sometimes the government falls 65, at other times ſhall mount to 90.

The war it ſeems has not ſufficiently impoveriſhed the nation, for here are multitudes of private perſons buſtling in the ready way to make bad worſe.

The news concerning the hopes of a peace, or the moral probability of the war's continuing, give the turn to this game. The arrival of a courrier ſhall give the players a good hand, and the departure of another quaſh all their hopes.

Curioſity,

Curioſity, yeſterday, led me into this political gaming-houſe, where the ſtock-jobbing gameſters are continually buying and ſelling the monarchy. Believe me, the eagerneſs ſtaring in their faces is beyond any words to expreſs; their features are diſtorted with all the paſſions accompanying ambition and avarice: that painter, who would give a ſtriking repreſentation of avidity and inſatiable thirſt of gain, may here find the beſt original for his purpoſe in the whole world. This ſame Jonathan's Coffee-Houſe, like all other gaming-meetings, has its knaves: the moſt conſiderable of theſe are a--b--d--rs, who, being in the ſecrets of crowns, play on ſure grounds; that is, they know when to buy and ſell in the right time.

Some political arithmeticians have calculated that the national debts have been bought and ſold a million of times ſince they were firſt contracted; it is a trade which has ſprung from the ruin of all other trades; the ſtock-jobbers will game till peace ſhall have put an end to hopes and fears: ſtill a gaming humour, irreconcileable with the public tranquillity, will remain; and of courſe the gameſters will rejoice

rejoice at a freſh war; for the chief good, with the bulk of men, is the gratification of their paſſions.

LETTER V.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

London.

THERE is a people in Europe who devote themſelves to make others merry; their trade is to ſing and play on the fiddle. Literature it leaves to others, valuing itſelf only on its ſkill in ſounds; this is its profeſſion. The inhabitants of that country are born muſicians, and never give over ſinging till death ſilences them. They are to be found in the capital cities in Europe, where, without any other talent than *il buon guſto*, they live ſplendidly. This people are called Italians.

Moſt of them are geldings; ſuch is their attachment to muſic, as to ſacrifice their deareſt part to it; they emaſculate themſelves in notes, and bury their progeny in ariettes.

They

They are not ſo well received here as in other places; with all their *buon guſto* the French take on them to deſpiſe their muſic; but here it has its ſticklers, who are continually praiſing it, as infinitely above that of the nation.

I was lately invited to a vocal concert of one of theſe Italian *virtuoſi*, whoſe melodious voice is a loſs to poſterity. As I contemn all artifice whatever, and think nothing fine which is unnatural, I was not greatly entertained with this muſic, and my diſguſt encreaſed as the applauſes grew louder; ſo that the beauties of this harmony, after a ſucceſſion of oſcitations, threw me into a ſound ſleep, not awaking till the pathos of the ariettes was over. I may perhaps, in a future letter, give thee ſome account of the diſpute between this and the French muſic.

LETTER VI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE more I conſider the morals of the people with whom I now am, the leſs I like them. A crime, of which we have not ſo much as any idea in China, is here very common; I mean the infamy thrown on marriage.

Walking, yeſterday, in the park with my good-natured baronet, we ſaw, coming towards us, a young lady of a very ſhowy appearance, and followed by two footmen. I thought that, as ſhe paſſed by us, ſhe had watched my friend's eyes to drop a curt'ſy to him, and that he deſignedly had turned his head another way.

When ſhe was at ſome diſtance from us, I aſked the baronet who that lady was whom he did not care to ſalute. She is, ſaid he, a creature who but a few weeks ago uſed to pick up men in the ſtreets, but laſt week one of our Engliſh gentlemen married her. You ſeem to wonder at this, continued he, perceiving in me

an

an emotion of ſurpriſe; but at London nothing is more common. The French, added he, will make the vileſt proſtitutes their miſtreſſes; but the Britons run greater lengths, they make them their wives.

Our brothels, continued he, are become a kind of ſeminaries for wives: I could ſhew you in this capital a great many, who, from theſe lothſome ſinks of debauchery, have ſtept into the nuptial bed.

In other parts whores are no more than whores; but here they become wives, beginning with many men, and afterwards giving themſelves up to one. Do not imagine, continued he, that this is a vice to be ſeen only among the ſcum of the people; I aſſure you, perſons whoſe birth and education naturally promiſed better, have given into this infamous turpitude.

Why this, ſaid I interrupting him, is ſanctifying debauchery, and prophaning holy things; it is calling heaven to be a witneſs of proſtitution. I cannot conceive, continued I, what inticement there can be (to uſe the expreſſion as filthy as the thing) to fill one's bed with dung, and thus indelibly defile one's poſterity.

Why, ſaid he, theſe marriages are generally made without reaſon's knowing any

ny thing of the matter; though inſtances re not wanting of thoſe who have delibe-rately engaged in this worſt of follies. They fancy that taking theſe wretches from the depth of indigence and guilt lays them under an infinite obligation, that grati-tude will produce affection and fidelity: but here they are out; a woman never eſteems a man who has ſo far debaſed himſelf, as to commit an action ſo ſhame-ful and mean-ſpirited.

LETTER VII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Man-darin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

IN Europe every one ſets up for a po-litician; whether princes are fighting or have given over fighting, there is al-ways ſome privy counſellor who declares his opinion; but generally his reflections come too late.

The peace had already been concluded, when the Monitor, whoſe remarks I now ſend you, pointed out the terms on which it ſhould have been made.

The

The tendency of his reaſoning is, to prove that there can be no conſtant union between France and England; and to demonſtrate this, the author recurs to the primary cauſes of this diviſion. It is drawn up by way of petition to the agents of the two crowns.

" A moſt humble remonſtrance, inſcribed " to the plenipotentiaries of France " and England."

" May it pleaſe your excellencies,

" The kings your maſters have ſent you " to the courts of St. James's and Ver- " ſailles, to put an end to that war which " diſtreſſes both nations; a noble negoti- " ation! what is more glorious than be- " ing the inſtruments of univerſal hap- " pineſs?

" For the better ſucceeding in this " praiſe-worthy deſign, you have aſſocia- " ted to yourſelves men of talents, and " acquainted with the cabinets of all Eu- " rope.

" You yourſelves are very capable mi- " niſters; you know the temper of the " people, and the intereſts of the crowns " with whom you treat. Since your ar-

" rival

" rival in the two capitals you have been " inceſſantly buſy; you have had audi- " ences, you have regulated meetings, " ſettled conferences, drawn up wri- " tings, removed difficulties, received ex- " preſſes, diſpatched couriers, &c. &c. " In a word, you have brought the mo- " narchs, whoſe agents you are, to ſign pre- " liminaries. At this they, who from theſe " preliminaries conclude the peace as good " as finiſhed, have cried out with rapture, " *Nothing could be better! what great men* " *theſe two muſt be! This is doing buſineſs.*

" But your excellencies labour is not " yet over: believe me, that from theſe " preliminaries and the conſecutive treaty, " to the fixing a permanent peace between " the two crowns, there is a diſtance (the " calculation is known) of exactly two " thouſand ſquare political leagues.

" Without ſetting up to be a prophet " in negociations, the caſe will be this; " there will be public rejoicings and fire- " works, a ſolemn thankſgiving; we ſhall " hear no more of ſieges and battles; the " armies will be ordered home and redu- " ced; there will be quiet and joy on " both ſides; and five or ſix years after, " the war will break out afreſh.

" It

"It is a great queſtion at preſent, whe-
" ther this be a time for a ſyſtem of paci-
" fication between France and England;
" I mean, whether, after ſuch a repeti-
" tion of ſieges and battles, war is not
" become the natural ſtate of theſe two
" powers, and whether the very treaties
" of peace are not a ſource of troubles
" and diſturbances. At leaſt, of all po-
" litical undertakings, it is the moſt knot-
" ty; as not only general intereſts are to
" be reconciled, but private paſſions to
" be obliterated; and theſe are ever more
" difficult to be got over than the claims
" of crowns; for your excellencies ſhould
" know, that there is ill blood in the veins
" of both nations. This ſeries of inter-
" necine wars from generation to genera-
" tion; theſe fights by ſea and battles by
" land, ſo often renewed; theſe heaps of
" ſlain calling on their poſterity for re-
" venge; the natural antipathy fomented
" and increaſed by ſo many military maſ-
" ſacres, cannot be effaced by the ſign-
" ing of any number of articles. Two
" nations alienated from each other by
" ſome ſhort wars may be eaſily reconci-
" led; but how to inſpire conciliatory ſen-
" timents into ſuch whoſe animoſity has

" been

" been increaſing by wars continued
" through ages, with only ſhort and imper-
" fect intervals of a patched-up tranquil-
" lity? there is no cloſing ſo many wounds,
" but the ſcar will remain.

" The enmity between the Roman and
" Carthaginian republics admitted of no
" expedient; all the negociations and
" treaties of peace only the more infla-
" med both, till the exciſion of the latter,
" at which all the rage and animoſity of
" the former ſubſided. This perhaps is
" a compendium of the political hiſtory
" of the two nations.

" The preceding plenipotentiaries at
" the two courts, for above a century paſt,
" were, like yourſelves, perſonages of
" great parts, and who indefatigably la-
" boured to fix a pacification between the
" two nations; but the work was no ſooner
" finiſhed, than it fell to pieces.

" I could here lay before you a multi-
" tude of treaties of peace concluded be-
" tween the two crowns in different times
" and places, and wherein all imaginable
" precautions were taken to prevent a
" rupture; yet has not one of them been
" of any convenience: but I ſhall only
" quote that of Aix-la-Chapelle, tranſ-

" acted under our eyes, in which it was
" positively agreed, that there should be
" no more war.

" The two powers, your excellencies
" know, express themselves in it as follows.

" Know all whom it shall or may in any wise concern:

" Europe with joy sees the approach of the day destined by providence for the restoration of its tranquillity. A general peace supersedes the long and bloody war which had risen between the most serene and most mighty prince George II. by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and the most serene and most mighty prince Lewis XV. by the grace of God, the very christian king.

" God, in his mercy, has made known to those powers the way by which he would have them to be reconciled, and restore tranquillity to the people whom he has put under their government. They have sent their plenipotentiary ministers to Aix-la-Chapelle, where the preliminaries of a general peace being agreed on, in order, at the same place of Aix-la-Chapelle, to complete the great work of a solid and lasting peace, the high contracting

tracting parties have nominated, deputed, and furniſhed with all proper powers, as their ambaſſadors extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary, the moſt noble and illuſtrious lords, John Earl of Sandwich for his Britannic majeſty, and for the moſt chriſtian king, the Count St. Severin d' Arragon.

" Article I. There ſhall be a perpetual and univerſal peace both by ſea and land, and a conſtant friendſhip between the two powers, and their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, ſtates, provinces, countries, ſubjects and vaſſals, of whatever quality or condition they may be, without exception of place or perſon, ſo that the contracting parties ſhall reciprocally uſe their utmoſt care and attention to maintain, between themſelves and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, ſuch mutual friendſhip and correſpondence, without permitting, that, on either ſide, any hoſtility be committed for any cauſe, or on any pretence whatever; likewiſe abſtaining from henceforth from whatever may diſturb the happy union reſtored between them: on the contrary, they ſhall be mindful, on all occaſions, to countenance whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſt and

and advantage; giving no aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would do any damage to either of the contracting parties.

"II. There ſhall be a general oblivion of every thing done or committed during the war now ended; and every one ſhall, on the day of exchange of the ratifications of the parties, be preſerved or again put in poſſeſſion of all his lands, incomes, and honours, which he enjoyed, or ſhould have enjoyed, at the beginning of the war, notwithſtanding any ſeiſures and confiſcations of poſſeſſions, occaſioned by the ſaid war.

"Nothing can be more preciſe and explicit than the terms of this treaty: it was impoſſible to miſtake the meaning of any one ſentence; yet was not one article obſerved. The names of Sandwich and St. Severin were ſcarce dry, when the peace was broke, and the two nations fell to fighting with more fury than ever. Indeed they do not ſtand in need of any cauſe to go to war; a pretence will do, and the firſt that offers is always cloſed with.

"In the conferences held at Paris and London, about the limits of Canada, it was

" was agreed on both ſides to refer that
" point to commiſſaries; and a very wiſe
" agreement it was: but thoſe folks were
" found to be very ſlow in their proceed-
" ings, and the two nations being in a
" hurry to fight, artillery has been ſub-
" ſtituted in their ſtead. This indeed is a
" ſpeedier way of meaſuring limits than
" that of commiſſaries; and, to the ſhame
" of conventions, that country, where it
" had been agreed to have only arbitrators,
" ſoon became the ſcene of battles, the two
" nations had deeply engaged in hoſtilities,
" before it came into their mind that they
" had recently ſigned a treaty, by which
" thoſe acts were forbidden in the ſtrongeſt
" terms.

" Antiently war was never renewed till
" after a formal diſſolution of the ties
" which formed the general tranquillity:
" treaties of peace were ſacred; it was
" the very part of public right which
" princes obſerved the moſt religiouſly:
" they publiſhed manifeſtoes, and ſet forth
" at large their motives for having re-
" courſe to arms. This was ſomething
" tedious: accordingly the Engliſh and
" French have found out a more expedi-
" tious way; they wage war in time
" of peace: five or ſix armies are de-

" ſtroyed before they think fit to publiſh,
" on a bit of paper, the reaſons for ſo
" doing: they begin with ſlaughtering,
" and afterwards plead the cauſe of the
" ſlain. The politics of ſome courts may
" be compared to modern phyſic, which
" kills by way of preamble, and after-
" wards aſſigns the cauſes of the patients
" death.

" Treaties have been making theſe
" eight hundred years paſt, and as many
" hundred years have they been broke as
" ſoon as made. Nations are always ne-
" gotiating, yet inceſſantly fighting.

" Treaties of peace may be accounted
" the romances of modern policy: it is
" all fairy land; they contain only words:
" exemptions, exceptions, reſtrictions, to-
" tally annul them, ſo that the parchment
" on which they are written, may be ſaid
" to be the only real and ſubſtantial thing
" in them.

" The hiſtory of the breaches of trea-
" ties of peace would make a very inte-
" reſting article in the hiſtory of European
" politics.

" It would be ſuperfluous to repreſent
" to your excellencies the viciſſitudes of
" the two nations, and the misfortunes

" into

" into which Europe has been plunged
" by theſe wars; no-body underſtands
" theſe things better: I ſhall therefore
" only ſay, that ſince the inſtitution of
" ſocieties, never has the like been ſeen in
" any part of the world. All the nations
" of the continent have been deſolated;
" that part of the globe which we live in
" is become a mere deſert. Europe, taken
" in the whole, is by fifty times leſs peo-
" pled than it was in the time of antient
" Gaul. It will perhaps be objected, that
" the wars of the Romans were longer and
" more ſanguinary than ours; but that
" great people had means of population
" which we have not. Though Rome, by
" continual ſieges and battles, demoliſhed
" the world on one ſide, it ſhored it up on
" the other; whereas we are always pulling
" down without any repairs: the ſubjects
" periſhing in war are loſt to the univer-
" ſal common-wealth without recovery.
" Our governments, if I may uſe the
" expreſſion, have no expedients for re-
" ſurrection; our dead never return again;
" and for this reaſon, that there is not
" a free nation on the earth, but all are
" ſwallowed up by a tyrannic deſpotiſm.

" The wars of Europe ſpring from the " ambition of kings; it is for a perſon, " and not for a thing, that nations cut " each other's throats.

" To reaſſume the diviſions between " France and England, there is a primary " cauſe of the inveteracy between them.

" Will your excellencies indulge me in " a ſhort ſketch of the political hiſtory of " the two governments? it may perhaps " afford ſome points of view which have " hitherto eſcaped the annaliſts. It were " to be wiſhed that this picture were al- " ways before the eyes of thoſe who are " to negociate with the two crowns; they " then would not entertain a conceit that " the work of ten centuries could be an- " nihilated by a few ſhort conferences. " Beſides, this abridgment is neceſſary, " as throwing a light on theſe reflections; " it is nothing leſs than the journal of " the ambition of the two crowns, ever " ſince the extinction of the emperors: " it turns not ſo much on the chronology " of time, as on events. The retroſpect " is carried pretty far back; yet ſhall not " the narrative be the longer for that; " it will be but a minute's work.

" The

" The Romans, after ſubduing all na-
" tions, being deſtroyed in their turn,
" the world had a little breathing time:
" a general agitation, which had laſt-
" ed ſo many ages, produced an uni-
" verſal inſenſibility. The monarchies of
" France and England were among thoſe
" who continued a long time under this
" ſupineneſs. If Great-Britain ſhook off
" one foreign maſter, it was by the help
" of another, whoſe yoke proved no leſs
" ſhameful and oppreſſive. King Alfred
" was the firſt who conceived the thought,
" that the Engliſh might be brought to
" have ſome ambition; and that this was
" no bad thought, the ſubſequent hiſtory
" of our political world has abundantly
" ſhewn. He ſet them to learn to read
" and write, ſent for ſchoolmaſters from
" Italy to teach them Latin, and erected
" a univerſity. Previouſly to a political
" revolution, the ſagacious monarch ex-
" cited a mental one; and this, perhaps,
" may be reckoned the epocha of the
" Britons concerning themſelves in the
" tranſactions of Europe; ambition be-
" ing generally a conſequence of extenſive
" knowledge and capacity. This iſland,
" which had hitherto been but very im-

" perfectly known, Alfred put on a pretty
" good footing; yet ſtill was England
" very far from being a powerful ſtate,
" nor even a match for the firſt foreign
" prince who would be for ſubduing it.

" William duke of Normandy, who
" conquered it, gave a form to what
" Alfred had only ſketched; and, from
" that time, the Engliſh began to make
" ſome little figure in Europe.

" All this time France was ſcarce any
" thing; Charlemagne, who had deſigned
" to reſtore the Roman empire, was be-
" come too ſtrong for his ſucceſſors not
" to be very weak: it is almoſt an axiom
" in politics, that a power, whoſe elevation
" is ſudden, as ſuddenly falls to ruin.

" This monarchy, at that time much
" ſmaller than at preſent, but always
" larger than England, had neither ſyſtem
" nor form of government: the crown
" was without ſtrength, and its kings
" were looked on as magiſtrates without
" power. The peaſantry were the mili-
" tary ſtrength of the kingdom; on them
" lay the ſtreſs of wars, which thus thin-
" ned the ſtate without enlarging the
" domain.

" Under

" Under the reign of Hugh Capet, " ſeveral titles and lordſhips eſcheated to " the crown; and here it was foreſeen " that France might one day become a " conſiderable power. Both monarchies " advanced in grandeur, though ſlowly; " the Engliſh eſpecially were only laying " the firſt foundations of their power.

" A people turbulent by conſtitution, " and deriving an humourſome temper " from their climate, who are continu- " ally examining themſelves, and of courſe " hit on their ſore places, want only a " firſt motion. Ever ſince William, this " people has always been carrying on its " drifts without ſtopping by the way.

" France alſo had its plans of aggrandiſe- " ment; and the ambition of thoſe two " people claſhing, they came to blows, " wherein the French were beaten.

" Philip I. who then filled the throne, " was obliged to purchaſe a peace by the " ceſſion of part of his country to the " Engliſh; and it is this conceſſion from " France, which may be conſidered as " the foundation of that irreconcilable " variance between the two nations.

" Henry II of England, had married " a woman whom Lewis the younger, of

" France, had repudiated on account of her " gallantries; but he gave Guienne and " Poitou to Great Britain; for even then " was every thing ſacrificed to ambition. " Henry thought two provinces a full " equivalent to the ſhame.

" Lewis king of France, now called ſaint, " would have aggrandiſed this crown, if, " amidſt his cloſe attention to the things of " heaven, he had not too much neglected " earthly concerns: in his time religion " ſwallowed up all politics: he carried " his ſubjects to periſh miſerably in croi- " ſades, which added nothing to the glory " of God, and proved fatal to his repu- " tation, and likewiſe to his perſon: he " bid fair to have driven the Engliſh out " of the kingdom, had he not been for " driving the Turks out of their own " country. In reading the hiſtory of " former times, one cannot but pity na- " tions governed in ſuch a manner. St. " Lewis made a breach in the French " monarchy, which is not yet repaired.

" In England, Edward I. had his hands " full: the moſt important buſineſs to " him was to bridle the temper of the " Engliſh, for the kings of England were " already beginning to lord it over their " people:

" people: he laid the firſt foundations of
" that traffic which was one day to be
" the baſis of the monarchy's grandeur.
" Political power in the mean time de-
" clined, and Great-Britain was obliged
" to relinquiſh Anjou and Touraine.

" Under the following reign, all pro-
" jects of ambition and grandeur were
" ſuſpended; but under Edward III.
" England vigorouſly bent itſelf to the
" proſecution of its deſigns: yet did this
" prince out-run the nation's ambition;
" he was for making himſelf maſter of
" France only by a challenge; he offered
" the king of France to ſtake crowns to
" him who ſhould firſt draw blood of the
" other, and thus terminate national af-
" fairs by a ſingle combat; ſo true it is,
" that great princes are very often no
" more than great *Drawcanſirs*: but be-
" ing diſappointed of fighting by him-
" ſelf, he ordered his nation to arms, and
" gained the battle of *Creſſy*. This vic-
" tory a ſecond time let the Engliſh into
" France; the ſea now no longer ſepa-
" rated the two ſtates, and Calais be-
" came a frontier-place of Great-Bri-
" tain.

" Whilſt France and England were " weakening each other in theſe wars, the " hearts of both nations proportionably " ſwelled with a greater thirſt of ſuperi- " ority; ſo that battles, however dimi- " niſhing their power, kept their ambi- " tion at an equipoiſe. France, for a few " minutes, beheld the crown of England " at its feet. That ſame Edward, who " had been ſo eager for diſputing it ſword " in hand, did homage to her for it; but " this vaſſal was too powerful, and, drop- " ping that ignominious appellation, aſ- " ſumed the title of King of France, and " aſſerted it in a war; for already nations " began to fight for words: ſeveral ad- " ditional provinces of Europe came " under the dominion of Great-Britain, " whoſe weakneſs ſtill kept pace with ſuch " aggrandiſements.

" The Black Prince gained the battle " of Poitiers, where the king of France " was taken priſoner. This event, which " gave riſe to the civil wars, might have " brought France under a perpetual de- " pendence on England; but ambition " does not always all it ſhould, and, ſtill " leſs, all it can.

" It is obſervable that England was a " greater gainer by the ranſom of a pri- " ſoner than by many victories; a multi- " tude of provinces being again ceded " to Great-Britain, in exchange for " the king, who was confined in the " Savoy. France was ſinking into uni- " verſal debility, when, by one ſingle " man, all was ſaved: Bertrand du Gueſ- " cliin retrieved the monarchy; and he " is not the only inſtance, in our political " world, of a private perſon replacing " crowns on an equal footing.

" The minority of Richard II. in Eng- " land, and Charles VI. in France, oc- " caſioned, for ſome time, a total ſuſpen- " ſion of all views of power; inteſtine va- " riances leaving them neither time nor " inclination to think of greatneſs.

" If, at this critical juncture, ambition " had prompted any of the neighbouring " nations to avail themſelves of theſe cir- " cumſtances, the two monarchies had been " undone; and, from the turn given by " this to the ſituation of affairs, the face " of Europe would have been quite dif- " ferent from what it is now.

" The populace of England, ever law- " leſs and outrageous, laid hold of the

" principal

" principal perſons of the ſtate, and put
" them to death for no other purpoſe than
" the plunder of their riches; a proof
" that this government (amidſt all its
" plans of aggrandiſement) had no pro-
" per coercions for keeping within juſt
" limits the civil power, which ſhould
" alway be a baſis to the political.

" Whilſt the commonalty were mur-
" dering the grandees, the parliament was
" depoſing the king; and it deprived him
" of his crown as eaſily, as turning a
" private perſon out of a civil employ-
" ment.

" During the reign of Henry IV. af-
" fairs received little amendment in Eng-
" land, and France did not heal its do-
" meſtic troubles. Both the monarchies
" were wholly occupied in refitting them-
" ſelves. Another misfortune for the lat-
" ter was, its king being ſeized with a
" frenzy; and, as if the diſtemper were
" contagious, moſt of the great men
" became mad, inhumanly murdering and
" tearing one another to pieces: the deli-
" rium got into the courts of juſtice; the
" legality of murder and aſſaſſinations was
" openly maintained; even an eccleſiaſtical
" doctor wrote a ſchiſmatical vindication of
" murder,

murder, and ſupported his ratiocinations with the goſpel: extravagances, than which the human mind is ſcarce ſuſceptible of greater.

" England, having haſtily ſettled its domeſtic affairs, prepared to take advantage of circumſtances: a more favourable opportunity it could not have; its rival was quite ſpent, and ſtill harraſſed by factions.

" She won the battle of Agincourt, which put all France into mourning; and the ſable throne of this monarchy had unqueſtionably received an irrecoverable fall, did heroes, who know how to conquer, equally know how to improve their victories; whereas the gain of this important battle did not add the leaſt ſtrength to England; all it got was great glory: a domeſtic revolution completed what arms had begun.

" A Britiſh king aſcends the throne of France by marriage: thus here are the two nations connected, yet ſtill enemies, as if nothing could reconcile the Engliſh and French, not even the union of the two crowns. It ſeems, nothing under magic could free the monarchy from this foreign ſervitude: a ſervant-girl,

" without

" without any other appellation than that
" of maid, atchieves what great armies
" had failed in: by her order Charles VII.
" is crowned, and a common tavern-
" girl makes all the power of England
" to give way. Scarce can the hiſtory of
" the two nations be accounted for; rea-
" ſon and policy are every where baffled
" by fable and the marvellous.

" The Engliſh are driven out of France,
" with only one door remaining to them
" to come in again.

" It ſeems as if France waited only for
" the evacuation of the Engliſh to refit
" itſelf. It had been torn in pieces by
" domeſtic diſſenſions; but now Charles
" caſt the ſyſtem anew, and by a ſtrict re-
" formation of abuſes re-eſtabliſhed the
" civil order, which, as we have ſaid, is
" the baſis of political power. Lewis XI.
" may be ſaid to have ſettled abſolute
" deſpotiſm in France, and thereby in-
" troduced that weakneſs, by which it
" was reduced to a level with an iſland,
" which, with ſcarce half its number of
" people, has, for ſeveral centuries ſuc-
" ceſſively, proved a match for it. This
" abſolute king it was who brought the
" two powers to a ballance.

" Edward

" Edward the Fourth's reign was of no " long continuance; it only gave him time " to ſhew his luſt and cruelty, two contra- " dictory paſſions, and ſeldom ſeen in the " ſame perſon.

" Richard, his brother, was a monſter " in body and mind from his birth. In " other princes cruelty is the effect of " revenge, or the prevalence of violent " paſſions; this wretch was coolly cruel: " he ſeized on the crown without the " leaſt right to it, and the lawful heir to " the throne he cauſed to be murdered in " the tower of London; but was the " nation, which could ſuffer ſuch a mur- " der, leſs inhuman than Richard, the " perpetrator? for the Engliſh having " already taken on themſelves to dethrone " their kings, how could they tamely ſee " the crown on ſuch a head?

" The reign of this tyrant was taken " up with his own private ambition: his " unnatural cruelties, and the national " puſillanimity in bearing with them, " were a great blot to the kingdom. " Richard died ſword in hand in the field " of battle; too honourable a death for " a caitiff who owed his ſupport to mur- " ders.

" Thus

" Thus Great-Britain was very much
" behind-hand in its deſigns; its power
" having, for ſome time, been without any
" ſupport: moſt of Edward the Third's in-
" ſtitutions had been loſt amidſt the in-
" teſtine confuſions. The monarchy ſtood
" in need of being ſhored up again, and
" new means were to be ſtruck out for
" its farther extenſion: the Engliſh never
" loſt ſight of their propoſed greatneſs;
" even when totally unable to accompliſh
" it, ſtill they proſecuted their darling
" project.

" The reign which followed that of the
" tyrant, was the reign of good laws,
" order and œconomy, which has ever
" been the chief political virtue of go-
" vernments; and thus the nation again
" ſaw itſelf capable of forming great de-
" ſigns.

" The power of France was only pre-
" carious, being ſometimes at a low ebb,
" and ſometimes recovering its vigour
" under a wiſe and good prince.

" The epocha of French greatneſs may,
" in ſome meaſure, I believe, be placed in
" the time of Francis I. not that under
" his reign the monarchy attained to
" that elevation in which it has been
" ſince

ſince ſeen, but his ſucceſſors have only arranged a chaos of political powers, which was of his creation.

" I believe, my lords, that it was in the time of this monarch, that the two nations formed their reſpective plan of aggrandiſement; the ſyſtem of one was the dominion of the ſea; and of the other, the ſovereignty of the continent. Perhaps theſe two nations themſelves were then not aware of it, there being ambitious projects which are not ſeen into till after execution.

" Theſe two nations ſeemed to be founding their power, as it were, unknown to each other. Great-Britain inſenſibly formed a navy, and ſettled all the meaſures for keeping it up without France's perceiving it, or ſeeming to perceive it; and France got together powerful land-armies, as little obſerved by the Engliſh.

" The French and Engliſh, by their continual wars together, had contracted a martial and aſpiring ſpirit; almoſt all the wars were perſonal; it was at the expence of their blood, that they had gained a ſuperiority over all the other European nations.

" Henry

" Henry VIII. by ſuppreſſing the maſ
" in England, eſtabliſhed an irrevocabl
" diſunion between the two crowns, a
" there could now no longer be a reci
" procation of queens: not that mar
" riages between ſovereigns preven
" wars; but they may happen ſometime
" to ſuſpend battles, making prince
" aſhamed to ſlaughter their own kin
" dred.

" The Engliſh ſcheme of aggrandiſe
" ment, though formed ſo many age
" before, was ſcarce carried into any con
" ſiderable execution till Elizabeth. Ad
" verſity, the beſt ſchool for ſovereigns
" had taught this queen to reign: ſh
" ſecured England on all ſides: he
" laws and foundations ſhow her to hav
" been thoroughly acquainted with th
" principles both of political and civ
" government.

" Whilſt England was laying the foun
" dations of additional power, France
" to which Francis I. had given a ne
" appearance, afterwards became a pre
" to domeſtic diſſenſions and civil wars
" and was ſinking under its own ruin
" Calvin had given the monarchy a fat
" blow; not becauſe he alienated the Frenc
" fro

from a belief in the maſs, (that is what very few concern themſelves about) but becauſe the turbulent ambition of the great made the reformation a pretence for commotions; and ſeveral reigns were filled with diſturbances and ſeditions.

" At this time it was, that France itſelf premeditated a maſſacre of its own ſubjects; and the feſtival of a ſaint, called Bartholomew, was choſen for this general murder. Had England, ever profuſe of its blood to weaken France, made one vigorous puſh at this juncture, the monarchy, perhaps, would to this day have never recovered itſelf: but, as before obſerved, ambition does not always all it can; and well was it for Europe, as otherwiſe it would long ſince have been under one maſter: a modern Julius Cæſar had unqueſtionably made it his own.

" Henry IV. appeared, and greatly did France ſtand in need of ſuch a prince: but his reign was but a ſudden flaſh; he was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when the hand of an execrable aſſaſſin tumbled him from it, and the monarchy relapſed into its weakneſs.

" Great-

" Great-Britain, in the mean time, kept
" its eye on an increaſe of power,
" and was ſilently carrying on meaſures
" for that navigation, which one day
" would put the dominion of the ſea into
" its hands; and the French govern-
" ment, inſtead of traverſing its deſigns,
" left it all the time it could wiſh to in-
" creaſe its ſtrength.

" The reign of Lewis XIII. ſucceſſor
" to Henry IV. was little adapted to draw
" France out of that deep lethargy into
" which ſo many domeſtic calamities had
" plunged it; that prince himſelf, be-
" ſides his imbecillity, moroſeneſs, and diſ-
" ſimulation, was too fluctuating to lay
" down a plan, and conduct it methodi-
" cally.

" Richlieu, his miniſter, whom hiſtory
" claſſes among great men, becauſe he
" made great alterations, was deficient in
" that univerſal genius which carries its
" views into ſucceeding ages, and per-
" ceives future events. This all-ſeeing
" miniſter did not ſee that England was
" laying the foundations of a prodigious
" navy: the clipping the wings of the
" Auſtrian eagle, and depreſſing the no-
" bility, that he might rule at pleaſure,

" was

" was all he minded: he was writing " plays whilſt he ſhould have been for- " warding the building of ſhips. Ma- " zarin, his ſucceſſor, had not honeſty " enough to have the public good at heart; " the preferment of his relations was his " leading motive.

" Whilſt England was forwarding its " naval dominion, a turn happened in " its government: the weak adminiſ- " tration of James I. reduced it to a " level with France; and Charles I. his " ſon, was little better qualified to retrieve " the ſuperiority. Then it was that aroſe " Cromwell, who overturned the throne, " and put the king to death.

" After this tragical event, the ſtate " recovered its conſideration: the tyrant " reſtored order at home, and cauſed the " Britiſh name to be reſpected abroad. All " the ſeveral pieces of polity he put to- " gether, ſo as to make a formidable " whole; and moſt of the preſent ſup- " ports of that government may be ſaid " to come from him.

" The proſperity of England, under " Oliver, might lead one to apprehend, " that tyranny was good for ſomething: " never, under any lawful prince, had it

" made

" made ſuch a figure. The murderer o
" king Charles enjoyed the fruits of hi
" horrid policy during the courſe of hi
" life, and he died in his bed: ſo fa
" from being inſulted or diſturbed, h
" ruled with diſtinction.

" If private perſons can, by any thing
" be put on attempting to graſp at ſove
" reignty, it is the deference paid to thi
" uſurper by the ſeveral crowned heads o
" his time: moſt kings ſtudiouſly ſough
" his alliance, and at his deceaſe ſevera
" courts went into mourning.

" During this tragical ſcene at London
" was born Lewis XIV. he ballanced th
" power of England, and ſometime
" even made the ſcale preponderate on hi
" ſide. This aſtoniſhing reign diſcloſe
" funds of ſtrength in the monarchy
" which his predeceſſors had not obſerved
" Lewis, as it were, created a ſecon
" kingdom, and inſpired his people wit
" new talents and diſpoſitions.

" From the latter epocha are chiefly t
" be dated the ſyſtems of aggrandiſement
" in purſuance of which the two crown
" made themſelves maſters of both ele
" ments.

" France

" France levied innumerable land-ar-
" mies, and England fitted out large
" fleets. The two theatres ſoon after
" became joined into one, which was all
" tumult and ſlaughter.

" Wearineſs, and the deficiency of the
" means of war, had poſſibly reſtored
" tranquillity between the two nations;
" but an event, which fell out about this
" time, proved the ſource of endleſs
" quarrels; avarice had diſcovered ſeveral
" rich mines in the new world.

" England, by its activity, got thoſe
" of Braſil into its hands; and this being
" an inexhauſtible fund, pretences for
" war were never wanting afterwards.

" The animoſity between the two na-
" tions increaſed by a revolution in the
" human mind; each now pretending to
" a ſuperiority in arts no leſs than arms.

" Of all competitions, the moſt dan-
" gerous is that derived from the under-
" ſtanding, as being fomented by ſciences.
" Religion, through the ſchiſm in the
" reſpective belief of the two nations,
" alienated their hearts from each other;
" and this diſunion was farther inflamed
" by the difference of governments.

" Theſe

" Theſe, my lords, were the firſt cauſe
" of the continual wars between the two
" nations; and theſe cauſes raiſed commo-
" tions throughout all Europe; for Franc
" and England, being grown two poten
" ſtates, drew all the other governments
" into their diſputes.

" No end being put to the genera
" quarrels by ſieges and battles, ſyſtem
" of a perpetual pacification were ofte
" brought on the carpet. The firſt wh
" worked on this plan was Henry IV
" king of France; but therein that ge-
" nerous prince ſhewed the virtues of
" good father of a family, more than th
" talents of a dexterous politician: hi
" ſyſtem was deficient in its principles.
" One St. Pierre, a churchman, though
" he ſpent his whole life in political reve-
" ries, has wrote on this ſubject with
" jejuneneſs from which no ſucceſs could
" be expected.

" In our days John James Rouſſeau, o
" Geneva, has publiſhed a delineation o
" a perpetual peace; but the methods he
" propoſes are impracticable; his plan is
" totally without ſupport; he leaves large
" gaps unfilled: in fine, this writer,

" however

" however famous in other articles, is no
" great conjurer in the intereſts of princes:
" he ſhews more of ſorcery in his *Village*
" *Fortune-teller*; at leaſt, his muſic is more
" diverſified than his politics.

" Honeſt James, in his zeal for eſta-
" bliſhing the prodigy of a general peace,
" ſuppoſes one ſtill greater; that is, that
" princes will depart from ambition,
" and, to promote his ſcheme, become
" moderate and equitable. He is for
" erecting a ſupreme tribunal, where the
" differences of ſovereigns ſhould be diſ-
" cuſſed in a judicial proceſs, and makes
" the moſt illuſtrious among the Euro-
" pean princes ſo many juſtices of peace.

" He propoſes to convert the univerſal
" commonwealth into a federate govern-
" ment, where manners, religion, and
" cuſtoms, ſhould connect all the ſeveral
" parties, forgetting that this is the very
" thing which would ſet them at vari-
" ance. It is preſuming too much to
" expect that princes ſhall be equitable
" and moderate, forbear all violence and
" open force: there are ſome who would
" rather not be kings at all, than on ſuch
" conditions.

" The like may be ſaid of nations. To " conceive that the multitude of mortals, " called people, are capable of agreeing " on their reſpective happineſs, certainly " argues very little knowledge of them. " Should God himſelf come down on " earth, and offer to nations a plan of " eternal happineſs, ſome among them " would declare even againſt this, and " rather go to hell than acquieſce in " a general compact, though the offer of " heaven.

" It is the make of human nature, " and all the words and books in the " world will not be able to alter it.

" Neither are the intereſts of princes to " be ſettled by a general diet, as many " have imagined; political ſocieties would " be diſſolved before any thing was " agreed on for their conſolidation in " ſuch aſſemblies. Whilſt they were " ſtrengthening Europe on one ſide, an- " other part would fall to ruin: on the " accommodation of old claims, new " ones would ariſe; for every generation " ſees freſh rights introduced, and every " right produces freſh pretenſions. The " erection of a ſupreme court to limit " or reſtrain the ambition of princes, is

" a mere

" a mere chimera. To make kings equi-
" table and moderate, the motions of
" their hearts muſt be regulated; and
" ſuch morality is without the verge of
" diets, inſtituted purely to diſcuſs the
" intereſts of princes.

" Should this happy event (I mean a
" fixed and permanent peace throughout
" all the members of the univerſal body
" politic) ever come to paſs, it will be
" owing to a fortuitous concurrence of
" ſecond cauſes: ſhould our hemiſphere
" ever ſee that golden age, to the diſgrace
" of civil ſociety be it ſpoken, it will be
" without conſulting human reaſon: kings
" muſt be unacquainted with it, the peo-
" ple be ignorant of it, and policy itſelf
" know nothing of the matter.

" Excluſive of theſe general cauſes of
" diſcord between France and England,
" there are others more particular.

" Of theſe one of the principal is, the
" two governments always finding them-
" ſelves, at a peace, on the ſame level of
" ſtrength as before; ſo that the agents
" of the two crowns ſeem to have laid a
" wager that things ſhall be left in *ſtatu quo*.

" On ſigning a peace, each nation falls
" to repairing its power; one levying

" troops, the other building ſhips. France
" fills the continent with its armies, and
" the fleets of England cover the ſeas;
" till, on the very firſt occaſion of fight-
" ing, this new ſtate of ſtrength is ex-
" erted in ſieges, battles, and engage-
" ments.

" The plenipotentiaries are no natura-
" liſts; the influence of the elements is
" a thing unknown to them: none of
" their negotiations turn on contracting
" the ſea, or ſetting boundaries to the
" earth; neither is their policy more ſkil-
" ful in preventing the means by which
" one nation is enabled to pay ſubſidies,
" and the other to make war. They
" never think of cutting off the ſources
" of American riches, which, running all
" to one ſide, ſet the two nations at the
" keeneſt variance.

" Beſides all theſe negotiatory defects,
" thoſe of circumſtances, of miſtakes, of
" diſappointments, and exigencies, like-
" wiſe come into account.

" The preſent peace is a ſtroke of com-
" pulſive politics, in itſelf pregnant with
" a freſh war; it ſhould have been made
" ſooner, or have been put off for ſome
" time longer. There are unhappy junc-
" tures,

" tures, when it is better to let war take
" its courſe, than to ſuſpend its opera-
" tions; when cannons are the beſt ple-
" nipotentiaries, and battles the beſt con-
" greſſes: and ſuch junctures are thoſe,
" when each party, retaining its claims
" and animoſities at a treaty of peace, are
" only the more exaſperated againſt each
" other.

" During theſe pauſes, which are little
" more than ſuſpenſions of arms, both
" ſides recover their ſtrength, breathe
" awhile, and then fall to fighting with
" greater fury and obſtinacy than ever.

" A particular peace between France
" and England is ever productive of more
" battles. It has been ſaid, and ſome
" ſhallow politicians have advanced in
" writing, that the wars of the North
" do not neceſſarily affect the reſt of
" Europe; but that is an error. and be-
" trays an ignorance of the manifeſt con-
" nection between the Germanic body
" and the other European ſtates: Ger-
" many has, in all times, been of great
" weight in the concerns of our political
" world; it was ſhe which broke the Ro-
" man fetters, and delivered the world
" from ſlavery.

" Its wars are thoſe of all nations: the " capital powers cannot avoid taking part " in them, were it only to maintain a " ballance there, and hinder any power " from attaining to a dangerous augmen- " tation of force.

" If the Germanic diviſions are left to " ſubſiſt, the conſequence will be, either " the houſe of Auſtria will ſwallow up " that of Pruſſia, and then France un- " ſheathe the ſword again, to prevent ſo " threatening an increaſe of Auſtrian " power; or the king of Pruſſia will be " too hard for Auſtria; and, in this caſe, " he knows beforehand what is to be " done; he will croſs the Rhine: thus, " whatever be the event, a war between " the two crowns will neceſſarily fol- " low. Scarce does the hiſtory of Eu- " rope afford an inſtance of France's in- " termeddling in the affairs of Germany, " and Great-Britain not throwing its " weight into the oppoſite ſcale.

" Other obſervations. When, of three " powers making peace, not one is ſatiſ- " fied, it is morally impoſſible that the " tranquillity ſhould be of any continu- " ance: France complains, England " flames, and Spain murmurs.

" The

" The firſt thinks her ceſſions too large,
" the ſecond conceives that more ſhould
" be given her, and the laſt is perſuaded
" that ſhe parts with more than in reaſon
" ſhe ought.

" All are loſers by the bargain; the
" conquering power itſelf comes ſhort of
" its expences: the peace wants an im-
" menſe ſum of indemnifying England
" for the expences of the war, as in-
" diſputably appears from the new ſtate
" of its national debts.

" France has loſt its troops, a part of its
" domain, and ruined its finances: Spain
" has been ſtripped of its ſhips, its Ameri-
" can treaſures, and a part of that continent.

" Not one of theſe crowns makes peace
" from a pacific principle. On one ſide it is
" want, and on the other neceſſity, which
" haſtens the ſignature of the peace: they
" would all continue fighting were they
" able: the motives of war are not ceaſed,
" but the finances are drained: we ſhould
" ſtill hear of battle upon battle, were not
" the military cheſts empty.

" The blows which England hath
" ſtruck by ſea are ſo ſtrongly marked as
" to alarm France: it is become a maxim
" of her policy, that the very exiſtence

" of her power depends on her having a " ſtrong navy; and this will renew the " war, for it is the very rock againſt " which all treaties of peace go to wreck.

" The political overſights may perhaps " prove another obſtacle to a ſettled tran- " quillity: a leiſurely retroſpect on the " blunders committed during the war, " muſt excite ſhame, and conſequently a " deſire of effacing ſuch ſcandal.

" Since there have been governments " among men, and nations have laid down " rules of policy, the like has never been " known.

" The firſt belligerant power ruined " itſelf; it has ſunk under the weight of " its own greatneſs; its ſupreme council " has diſgraced itſelf by improper alli- " ances, unſeaſonable battles, and injudici- " ous deſigns: inſtead of keeping to ſea- " fights, this power has chiefly confined " its attention to a land-war; it has ſent " armies on armies into Germany, and " left its colonies bare. This ſyſtem of " diverſion was of excellent uſe to its " enemies; every enterpriſe of theirs has " ſucceeded.

" Its generals have ſeconded its ill po- " licy; moſt of them, inſtead of fighting

" for

" for the ſtate, have carried on the war " as beſt ſuited their perſonal quarrels: " ſome have made ſcandalous truces pure- " ly to put money into their pockets; " others have waſted numerous armies " by needleſs marches and counter- " marches; and all have ſuffered the army " to be defeated, rather than their rivals " ſhould gain the honour of a victory.

" The laſt belligerant power has ma- " naged ſtill worſe; ſo that remoteſt poſte- " rity will ſtand amazed at ſuch a ſingu- " lar tranſaction.

" Were we, in an account of ſome part " of North America, to read of two tribes " being at war ſeveral years, and that one " of them ſollicited a third, its neighbour " and formerly its ally, to declare in its " favour at a time when ſhe might have " done ſo with advantage, but that the " latter had deferred her aſſiſtance till the " other is ruined; and then, after a quick " ſucceſſion of defeats and loſſes, clap up " a peace, whereby ſhe defrayed all the " charges of the war; we ſhould ſay, " What a ſenſeleſs tribe was this!

" This fine project is committed to two " very weak miniſters; men of no capa- " city, who ſent repeated advices con-

" cerning the inability of the courts where " they reſided, but with no knowledge of " its reſources.

" Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition of " ſecond cauſes tending to a war, it would " not be impoſſible to eſtabliſh a laſting " ſyſtem of peace between the two crowns; " but in this the miniſters muſt go another " way to work, than in common treaties.

" Perhaps the few following articles " would forward this great tranſaction, " more than the multitude of negocia- " tions, which hitherto have proved of no " effect.

" I. Not to ſign a treaty of peace till the affairs of Germany be terminated.

" II. To fix the navy of England and the military eſtabliſhment of France.

" III. To annull Cromwell's treaty, and make the Portugal trade free.

" IV. To agree that the firſt of the two powers breaking the peace and committing hoſtilities, either by ſea or land, ſhould, beſides the coſts of the war, pay to the other the ſum of one hundred millions of livres Tournois.

" V. To have theſe articles guarantied by all the powers in Europe.

" This univerſal guaranty for eſtabliſh-
" ing a general peace would meet with
" little oppoſition.

" Two thirds of Europe, terrified by
" the thunder of the wars raging in the
" other part, would willingly come into
" it. It is a received maxim in politics,
" that when two or three governments ap-
" ply themſelves to military abilities, it
" is dangerous for others to be only ſpec-
" tators; as the belligerant powers, after
" ſubduing the martial people, fall on
" thoſe who are not ſuch. Perhaps
" there is now a diſpoſition to this pacific
" guaranty, which has not occurred in
" Europe ſince Charlemagnê.

" The Pope is a pacific prince: reli-
" gion puts the olive branch in his hand.

" The Venetians buried their military
" virtues under the ruins of the kingdom
" of Candia: the ſyſtem of their repub-
" lic is intirely peace.

" Genoa has, by ſevere experience,
" been taught to meddle no longer with
" edge tools.

" Spain has recently felt that fighting
" is not its element; and it may be ſup-
" poſed that now it would ſign a gua-
" ranty of peace to the end of the world.

" Portugal

" Portugal was lately forced to draw " the ſword; but its *coup d'eſſay* cannot " give it any great fondneſs for broils and " battles.

" Muſcovy will be ſoon taken up with " its own concerns. One half of the impe- " rial crown being in the grave, is a check " to that which continues inveſted with " the ſovereignty: ſo that, in the preſent " ſituation of things, were an overture " made to this court, of acceding to the " pacific league, heartily would it em- " brace ſuch a meaſure.

" To the United Provinces nothing " would be more welcome than the ſcheme " of a perpetual ſuſpenſion of arms. The " laſt war, though almoſt general, could " not induce them to arm: wealth, and " not conqueſt, is the ſcope of their pre- " ſent ſyſtem.

" Saxony, when relieved from foreign " troops, would think itſelf happy in " guarantying a permanent treaty of pa- " cification.

" The ſmaller ſtates of the empire are " ſo weary of the war, that they would " have a peace to laſt till the diſſolution " of nature.

" Copenhagen

" Copenhagen and Stockholm could wiſh that no more fighting might be heard of in the North, *and ſwords be for ever beaten into plough-ſhares.*

" The king of Pruſſia is the only power in Germany who is ſtill inclined to blows; and that is the very reaſon why a general compact ſhould be made, as a check on him.

" But, ſhould moſt of theſe ſtates decline guarantying this peace, they might be compelled to it.

" Excluſive of the three great powers, France, England, and the Houſe of Auſtria, the others may be looked on as intermediate, ſubordinate, and dependent ſtates.

" Thoſe three may properly be ſaid to wind up the ſprings by which the machine of Europe is moved.

" Italy, which formerly gave law to the univerſe, is now weak and impotent, without any thing worthy the name of a power in it. At Rome a prieſt, at Naples a deſpot, and, in the republics, a body of nobles keep it in ſubjection.

" The duke of Modena's utmoſt extent of force, his very body guard included,

" cluded, does not exceed two thouſand
" men; ſo that the greateſt of his armies
" makes only a ſmall detachment.

" The republics of Lucca and St. Ma-
" rino have no troops at all.

" The king of Sardinia, who might
" ſometimes be for intermeddling in the
" wars of Europe, is, at preſent, too much
" confined in his dominions to think of
" conqueſts. Since the ſettlement of Don
" Carlos and Don Philip in Italy, his
" military abilities are ſo hampered, that
" they have not room to ſtir.

" Moſt of the petty northern ſtates,
" taken ſeparately, have neither ſtrength
" nor power.

" Ruſſia, to beſtow one word more on
" it, is little ſuperior to thoſe ſtates: its
" horrid deſpotiſm has ruined every thing
" there; it is the native country, the home
" of bondage. Whatever may be ſaid
" of it, it has no real power; for where
" there are only ſlaves, there can be no
" ſoldiers."

LETTER VIII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

GOD formed the world; then reſted; and a thouſand years after, he created Spain: it is the neweſt country in the univerſe. By the backwardneſs of its politics, arts, ſciences, and finances, one would think it was juſt come out of nothing. It wants twenty centuries of being on a footing with the other ſtates of Europe.

Other nations have formed themſelves by reflection, age, time, ambition, and a certain natural deſire of aggrandiſement; whereas this has never made a ſingle effort or trial: it has loſt even the fruits of its ſelf-love; the greateſt misfortune which can befall a nation; for if its own paſſions do not ſupport it, its political power muſt neceſſarily ſuffer a diminution.

Here ambition is over-ruled by ſloth: this vice, however weak and ſlugged in other

other countries, is, in Spain, an active forcible paſſion. It is from a deſire of doing nothing that they ſhun labour; and this is the only active quality among the Spaniards.

The indolence is general; a lethargic drowzineſs is fallen on the whole nation. As to court-agitations, they are merely noiſe and vapour; after a little hurry and claſhing, all the buſtle ſoon ſinks into the general languor.

LETTER IX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

FRANCE, England, and Spain, have ſigned the preliminaries of peace. The intereſts of the European crowns are taken to pieces like a clock; ſetting the pointer of war and peace to whatever hour they pleaſe.

Theſe preliminaries put an end to the union between France and the houſe of Auſtria; for here, to forſake allies when one has no farther need of them, is an eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed cuſtom. They begin the war jointly, and make peace ſeparately. After all the tumults and confuſion of battles, every one forms again under the ſtandard of its own intereſts.

Thou wilt perhaps imagine, that after ſuch abrupt diſſolutions of the moſt ſolemn alliances, theſe political aſſociations admit of no farther renewal: but it is an agreement among the European monarchs to have no memory, and to forget the very reſentment which violations of ſuch engagements muſt excite; and ſo much the better for them, there being ſcarce any one prince who, on a treaty of peace, has not forſaken one or more allies.

LETTER X.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Superintendant of Religion at* Pekin.

London.

IN one of my former I mentioned to you, how dangerous mental improvements here are to religion. Every proficient in learning turns atheiſt. No ſooner

ſooner does a man come to know ſomething, than he believes in nothing.

The commonalty are too dull to fancy there is no God: this is an intellectual flight, the portion only of ſuperior intelligences. I have read the works of moſt of the great European geniuſes, and almoſt all ſavour of atheiſm. The deeper a man has gone in ſcience, the leſs is he perſuaded of a Divine Exiſtence.

It has been obſerved that, in Europe, religion keeps pace with ignorance; and that the leſs knowing nations are, the more firmly they believe in the Deity.

In Swiſſerland, where, from the climate, and perhaps other cauſes, wit is very ſcarce, no body in the leaſt queſtions a Supreme Being.

Since the revival of arts in France, multitudes there deny a firſt principle: but England, where knowledge is rather more profound, and every one ſets up for it, is over-run with atheiſts.

For my part, were I to be an European, let me be a Swiſs; for I had much rather be ignorant of many things, than to be ſo very learned as to know there is no God.

LET-

LETTER XI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

HERE great men follow the moſt ſordid callings; all the nobility of this kingdom keep an eating-houſe or tavern. If you dine and ſup at their houſes, you pay for your meal Indeed the maſter of the houſe does not bring in his bill, as at the King's-Arms or Bedford-Head; but a row of domeſtics hold out their hands, that the gueſts might have regaled themſelves cheaper at a real eating-houſe.

When an Engliſh nobleman invites a perſon to dine, he muſt immediately ſearch his pockets to know whether he can allow himſelf that honour. This tax ſerves inſtead of paying ſervants wages; or, in other words, it is the public who ſupport the luxury of the great: they invite people to their houſes, and thus lay an impoſt on what they would have to be thought a free compliment and condeſcenſion. The lords ſell their good cheer; only,

only, inſtead of paying the maſter, you give money to the ſervants.

I know not a more abſurd œconomy than this: both thoſe who invite and the invited are loſers thereby: to ſave a ſmall matter in ſalaries, the maſters are obliged to be at a greater expence, giving treats purely to put money into their domeſtics pockets; for who would ſerve for nothing?

Still the great, in effect, pay the ſalaries, ſince, for dining with one another, they likewiſe reciprocally pay: the only loſers by this bargain are the foreigners, who, not keeping any table here, pay the ſervants of others, while no-body contributes to pay theirs.

Another inconveniency reſulting from this practice is, that none but the wealthy can ſet their foot under a nobleman's table; and wealth does not always imply eminent merit or exquiſite talents; ſo that this is deliberately depriving themſelves of that part of ſociety which, if not always the moſt uſeful, is at leaſt generally the moſt entertaining.

LETTER XII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao-yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE uſefulneſs of the public papers here, inſtead of being confined to politics, comprehends every article of civil life, not excluding even indecencies. They are exceeding convenient, and ſo very fit for corrupting the morals, that no nation in Europe has yet invented any thing that comes up to them.

For three ſhillings ſterling, a girl of eighteen years of age may inform the public, that ſhe can no longer hold out under the rigours of a tedious celibacy. For three ſhillings ſhe may give notice to all whom it may concern, that if any one be diſpoſed to eaſe her of that burthen, ſhe is ready to concur on her part.

For form ſake, indeed, ſhe mentions marriage; but they who are acquainted with ſuch advertiſements, very well know what grounds to go on.

Not

Not long ſince the following article was ſeen in one of theſe papers.

ADVERTISEMENT.

" A young lady in her nineteenth year, " her ſtature ſomething above a middle-" ſize, round-faced, fine complection, " blue eyes, ſmall noſe, mouth ſomewhat " large, fine teeth, a delicate arm, a " dimpled hand, well-made leg, with a " pretty little foot, is diſpoſed to marry " a gentleman of about twenty-five: " if not quite that age, it will not be " minded; but he muſt be at leaſt above " five feet eight inches in height, an " oval face, large forehead, black hair, " cheſnut eyes, hawk-noſed, and, though " ſomething large and long, no matter: " freſh-coloured, a broad breaſt, breathe " free, ſteady look, an erect walk, and " not entangled with the fair-ſex: not " quite a freſh man; he muſt have ſerved, " but not be worn.

" As to his temper, he muſt be fond, " but not jealous. All letters to come to " her hands without being opened: eſpeci-" ally no queſtioning of ſervants. I for-" got to mention that his fortune muſt

" be

" be large, the young lady having none,
" and marrying only for the ſake of go-
" ing every evening to the Hay-market,
" or Drury-lane, and having a chariot,
" two chamber-maids, and four footmen.

" Any candidate, with all the above-
" mentioned qualities, to be next Sun-
" day noon in the Park, in the great walk,
" in order to a firſt interview, &c. &c."

A gentleman accordingly offered himſelf; and, eight days after, the ſame paper gave an account of the marriage; but ſaying nothing either of miniſter or witneſſes, the huſband, it ſeems, does not loſe the game of marriage; it is only a drawn game.

What ſayeſt thou to the freedom of a people where a news-writer is allowed to give a whole kingdom the bag to hold? Were ſuch an advertiſement put into the Gazette in China, the audacious author would be immediately carried before the cenſor of morals, who would order him to be baſtinadoed.

LETTER XIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE Engliſh women are not ſerved by eunuchs, who are generally too weak, and any little work ſoon puts them out of breath. They rather prefer real men, vigorous and well built, who can go through the fatigues of houſhold work day after day. Theſe are called footmen, and one of the chief qualifications for their place is, to be well ſhaped; for women, to avoid being troubled with ugly temptations, make uſe of pretty young fellows. They formerly had women about them; but that they found anſwered no purpoſe; and the ſervice of men, with ſome little tutoring in the myſteries of their chamber, ſuits them much better.

A lady ſpends the whole morning in her apartment with two or three luſty fellows, powdered and perfumed, and all whoſe buſineſs is to ſerve her. Among theſe there is generally one who acquits himſelf

himſelf of his duty better than the others, and he is diſtinguiſhed accordingly: he may be called the white eunuch of the ſeraglio, having particular prerogatives and privileges. Sometimes the emulation is equal, in which caſe all diſtinctions are likewiſe ſo.

Some whimſical ladies will make uſe of Africans for the ſame ſervice as Europeans, which however is looked on as a depravation; For, ſay the women of taſte, whilſt we can have whites, why ſhould we make uſe of blacks?

If morality ſuffers by this cuſtom, population is a gainer by it; for it is obſerved, that ſince the introducement of footmen at Paris, barrenneſs is not ſo common among the quality.

The ſucceſſion to inheritances indeed cannot be ſaid to be more legitimate; and the heirs of a wealthy perſonage not unfrequently appear to be iſſued from a footman.

What was formerly a mark of immodeſty is now reckoned decent. Time was when a woman dared not ſhew herſelf any where cheek-by-joll with a man; whereas now a young woman ſhall prance the ſtreets and the public walks with a footman, holding him by the arm,

and talking to him as an intimate. If ſhe has but what ſhe calls her domeſtic with her, ſhe may ſtare at every body.

Formerly women could not appear in public but with other ſort of company, which required many troubleſome inquiries; whereas now it is ſhort work, they take a man.

LETTER XIV.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

A Scheme of aggrandiſement prevails among the European princes, which will always be attended with the ruin of ſtates and the deſolation of the people.

The Chriſtian monarchs cannot keep within the limits where Providence has placed them; they muſt always be making additions to their dominions, and from this general uſurpation ſpring particular wars. A ſovereign cannot form a deſign of invading a province, but eight or ten princes muſt immediately enter into a defenſive or offenſive league; for if it be the intereſt of ſeveral ſovereigns that the power

power of him, from whom ſuch province is taken, be curtailed, it may be the intereſt of others that it ſhould rather be increaſed; ſo that each takes up arms in his own cauſe, and to fighting they fall on all ſides.

A thouſand times has it been demonſtrated to kings, that the conqueſt of the beſt country is not an equivalent to the loſs of a hundred thouſand of their ſubjects; yet they go on ravaging and tearing one another to pieces.

A fixed and permanent peace throughout all Europe has long been talked of: for this there is but one way; I mean, that all the princes of the Chriſtian world ſhould enter into a ſolemn compact not to tranſgreſs their preſent boundaries. But, alas! this is the ſtaleſt project which modern policy has formed; it is a promiſe ever made and never kept: it is a clauſe with which all treaties in Europe are ſealed; and this very clauſe makes them all of no effect. This part of the univerſe will ever be a ſcene of devaſtation and terror, carnage and horror, till a prince more fortunate, or more enterpriſing than others, ſhall, by univerſal conqueſt, put an end to that equilibre which makes ſo many nations unhappy.

What a wretched extremity, to be obliged to wiſh for an univerſal deſpotiſm, as the only means of a general tranquillity! a ſervile ſyſtem, preferring ſlavery to death.

LETTER XV.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

IN all, or almoſt all, the European ſtates, the obſervance of the laws lies at an infinite diſtance from the theory. Every parliament the prohibition of games of chance is renewed; yet is this prohibition ſo little regarded, that games of chance are every where played, and to the greateſt exceſs. The miſchief is, that they who make the laws, ſet the example in breaking them.

Under the very eye of the court there is an honorary gaming-houſe, where the nobility and other great men meet more or leſs, and from morning to night endeavour to ruin one another. A ſeat in this place is accounted a privilege of diſtinction, it not being free to every one to come and loſe his money here: it is eaſier to

to be made a member of parliament than to gain admittance into this gaming aſſembly. It were to be wiſhed, for the good of the ſtate, and the advantage of private families, that the directors of this ſociety were ſtill more difficult on this point: play here is ſaid to be a privilege of nobility, as if any body of men could have a privilege contrary to the very fundamental laws.

The Engliſh law againſt games of chance comprehends both high and low, and the infractor, whatever be his condition, is ſubject to the penalties ſpecified in the law: theſe penalties ſhould rather be increaſed in proportion to the offender's rank; for the ill example of the great, corrupting the people, is high treaſon againſt the commonwealth. What would become of the beſt communities, were the chief members to aſſume a right of corrupting the conſtitution?

It is aſked, whether the Britiſh nobility is not at liberty to meet in a privileged place, where, apart from the body of the nation, they may enjoy the immunities of their high birth? Unqueſtionably they have ſuch a right; but this does not include an exemption from the duties of a member

of ſociety: this privilege, at ſuch a rate, would be a tyranny; for whatever is contrary to the laws, is an offence againſt the ſtate.

This is one of thoſe abuſes which ſubſiſt becauſe they, whoſe duty it is to look into and ſuppreſs them, are intimidated by the birth or dignity of the offenders. It may be ſafely affirmed, that, ſhould a juſtice of peace come into the gaming-room, and carry off both money and company, the whole would be good and lawful prize; not one of thoſe gentlemen could produce any warrant for his doing what the laws forbid. This houſe, were it only for the corruption which it ſpreads among the great, ſhould be walled in; for it is no better than the inferior reſorts of this kind, where, from being dupes at firſt, men come to be cheats and villains.

LET-

LETTER XVI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

WE have at preſent before us a ſtriking inſtance of the corruption of European government: a general peace is concluded; the two ſmalleſt ſtates have diſgraced the two greateſt powers in the univerſe; the plenipotentiaries of the latter have ſubſcribed the monument of their ſhame.

Poſterity will be amazed to ſee that two people, conſiſting of only eight or ten millions, have maſtered ſeveral nations containing above fifty millions.

England has diſpoſſeſſed France of a large American territory, and has farther gained a ſovereignty from Spain: the king of Pruſſia, who was to have been ſtripped of every thing, is rather in a better condition than before the war; and all this after many ſieges and battles for the ſpace of near two luſtres.

Such events are not to be attributed to fortune, which is ſeldom ſeen to be of a

conſtancy like this: they are manifeſtly the reſult of natural cauſes.

It was indeed morally impoſſible that the iſſue ſhould be otherwiſe: the two large bodies were under a bad adminiſtration, whereas the conduct of the others was regular: in one of them the king managed the ſtate, and in the other the ſubjects themſelves ſecured the commonwealth; whereas in the former nobody had an eye to the government.

It is political, civil, and military order, and not the number of men, which conſtitutes the power of ſtates: arms are of little uſe where heads are wanting. Among other inſtances in ancient hiſtory, do we not ſee Alexander, with a handful of men, defeating Darius's numerous army? This has been, and always will be, the caſe.

Wars, like every thing elſe in the world, to ſucceed, muſt be well conducted; otherwiſe they infallibly miſcarry, even with a ſuperiority of ſtrength.

A prince forming and diſciplining his troops himſelf, leading them to battle in perſon, his own general and counſel, avoiding ſenſuality, luxury, and pleaſure, will neceſſarily have the advantage over a monarch who has not the leaſt notion of military

military virtues, who ſuffers himſelf to be directed by his ſubjects, has miſtreſſes and favourites, is weak and led by voluptuouſneſs, and a love of pleaſures to do things contrary to his intereſts—Such a prince, I ſay, will come off by the worſt, did he ſway the ſceptre over three fourths of the univerſe.

LETTER XVII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

THIS people is ſo eaten up with devotion, that they carry it even to prophaneneſs: they believe in every thing except God: they worſhip the ſaints, and pray to the Deity. To give a rectitude and propriety to the Spaniſh religion, an alteration muſt be made in heaven. The paradiſe of the Spaniards is too much crowded; their petitions never reach the celeſtial throne, being intercepted by the way.

The capital religious honours are paid to a female, ſtiled the Bleſſed Virgin, as

having brought forth Chriſt; and on this account the ſupreme honours are paid to her. Were it not for the mother, the ſon would be worſhipped more.

Religion, the end of which was to clear up the darkneſs of the mind, here offuſcates the underſtanding. Superſtition, the daughter of deſpotiſm and ignorance, keeps reaſon and the ſenſes chained down. Compliments to the ſaints ſuperſede buſineſs and labour. The common-wealth is poſtponed to the ſaints, the invocation of whom takes up two hundred days in the year; during all which time the ſtate lingers, and the government remains without action. What ſayeſt thou of a people, among whom religion is ſo prevalent, as to impoveriſh the ſtate, and cut the ſinews of political power?

L. E. T.

LETTER XVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE people in England are ſtrenuous in defence of what they call their liberty: they do not uſe battering cannon, but keep a briſk fire with verbal artillery; the batteries of talk and pamphlets never ceaſe: when once the trenches are opened, they never raiſe the ſiege, till the place of the party devoted to deſtruction be given up: they have hooted, hiſſed, and clamoured, till the miniſter, the butt of all theſe outrages, has withdrawn and left them maſters of the field.

What amazes me is, that this miniſter held out ſo long againſt the ballads prints, and murmurs, of the public. However light thoſe things are made of at firſt, they at length come to gall; thence impatience, and this is followed by reſignation and retreat.

Perhaps

Perhaps the miniſter would ſtill have ſtood his ground, but a North-Briton vexed him ſo as to put him out of all patience. This North-Briton, which was only a looſe ſheet of paper, determined to allow him no reſt till he ſaw him fairly out of the precinct of St. James's; and would not lay down the pen till he was removed from the management of affairs.

In France the author would have been ſilenced, and thus a ſtop put to the diſpute; but here the government cannot hinder the printing of what it would not have read. It is a national privilege; and in the manner it is made uſe of here, it may be ſaid to be peculiar to England; at leaſt, Europe has not a country where the people dare to expreſs themſelves ſo licentiouſly.

There are at preſent a thouſand Frenchmen in the Baſtile, and there they will die for having written too freely, as it is called in France; though this freedom has not been carried near ſo far as the liberty allowed in England is every day.

I know not whether I become uſed to the Engliſh notions, or whether I begin to think rightly on the liberty of the ſubject; but my ears are not ſo much offended, as they

they uſed to be, when an author ſays of a miniſter, who may have miſrepreſented a public action, that he has told a lie. However, as the word ſtill ſeems to me ſomething harſh and abrupt, I was lately ſaying to a Briton, whether it would not be better, on ſuch occaſions, to make uſe of a periphraſis, and ſay, Such a miniſter has disfigured the truth: No, no, anſwered he, no ſuch circumlocutions; when a miniſter tells lies, why ſhould he not be called a lyar; and when he betrays his country, a traitor?

LETTER XIX.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

SINCE the baronet has laid aſide the ſpeculative ſciences, he reads only pamphlets; and his reaſon for this is, that this reading does not require any genius, and leaves the mind as it was. He adds, that theſe writings contain only words without things, that they may be read without attention, and that all the labour is in the eye. According to him, an Engliſhman,

gliſhman, who has read over three thouſand pamphlets, has not worn his faculties ſo much as he who has read only a hundred pages of Mr. Locke on Human Underſtanding.

Thanks to the taſte of his age, he may abundantly gratify himſelf; for the ſands of the ſea are not more in number than the pamphlets which come out in this city. It is now half a century ſince a book has been made in England, though there never was ſo much printing; heaps of productions, and very few works.

A diſpoſition for light and ſuperficial pieces is come into vogue, and has extinguiſhed that ſpeculative and profound genius, which, as I have been told, was formerly the characteriſtic of the Engliſh.

It is ſcarce poſſible to fix the reaſon of the Britons being grown ſo frivolous, and why their writings abound with that volatility which they formerly ſo much deſpiſed.

Some impute it to this iſland being deluged, as they call it, with French books, the diſtempers of the mind being contagious, like thoſe of the body: but I can ſcarce believe this to be the true reaſon, as, on a compariſon, the beſt Engliſh works

works are found to have been compoſed at a time when the French wrote a great deal, and the Engliſh peruſed thoſe writers a great deal more.

The preſent method of education among the Britons muſt certainly contribute greatly to this frivolous taſte. The firſt ages of life, on which depends, as I may ſay, the formation of the genius, is ſpent in trifles. Before the maſters who inſtruct them in dancing, muſic, fencing, and riding, have done with their ſcholars, the time for giving a ſolidity to the mind is elapſed: thoſe academies, however they accompliſh the body, leave the underſtanding in its natural ſtate; that is, incult: few engage in a regular ſtudy. Both Engliſh and French only ſkim the ſurface of ſcience. The general taſte is for flimſey amuſements; and this futile caſt, of which education is the ſource, infects their literary performances. The Engliſh, inſtead of their former gravity and ſerioufneſs, are become ſufficiently ſprightly and jocular. In their common talk they affect puns, quirks, and double-entendres, and withall are very verboſe, which renders their works confuſed and prolix; for books are like converſation.

This inclination to know nothing is ſeconded by a political literature, which conſiſts in teaching nothing.

Every morning is publiſhed here a large folio divided into twelve different editions, all words and no ſenſe; yet of theſe no leſs than ſixty thouſand copies are conſtantly vended in the ſeveral parts of this city.

Theſe papers, as they are called here, are, on being brought to their reſpective deſtinations, greedily ſnatched up.

As theſe diaries contain neither ſtile nor things, they divert the mind from reflection, and incapacitate it for deep and ſettled thinking. In Europe the human mind is ſo mutable that any minute ſecond cauſe can totally change it. Were five or ſix women to bring into the world each a child with organs well adapted for ſcience, this ſhall give a turn to the genius of a whole nation. It is to the mothers of Chancellor Bacon, Newton, Locke, Addiſon, and ſome others, that England owes its literary glory.

LETTER XX.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

OF all the governments in Europe, that of Spain is the weakeſt and moſt languid: how can it be otherwiſe, when not one branch of the political power is rightly managed?

An iniquitous tribunal, under pretence of ſecuring religion, extinguiſhes freedom of mind and virtue; ſo that the country is over-run with puſillanimity and ſuperſtition.

Population is continually decreaſing by the multitudes of thoſe who make a vow of celibacy.

A wealth of mere ſhow preys on real opulence.

A large adventitious ſtate on the other ſide of the world abſorbs the principal.

This languor is chiefly owing to the decay of tillage, the ruin of trade, a habit of inactivity, a neglect of manufactures, &c.

The

The recovery of the monarchy may be effected,

1. By aboliſhing the inquiſition.
2. Diminiſhing the clergy.
3. Shutting up the mines.
4. Quitting America.
5. Cultivating Spain.
6. Incouraging ſkill.
7. Reviving the arts.
8. Increaſing manufactures.
9. Multiplying commerce.

But theſe things require a total change of the general ſyſtem; and too many have an intereſt in the preſent ſituation of affairs; ſo that, in all likelihood, this nation will gradually fall into ſuch a ſtate of debility, as to become an eaſy prey to one of its powerful neighbours.

LETTER XXI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao-yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

London.

LOVE, in Europe, puts on all ſhapes; here he turns poſtillion, there running-footman; and, in England, he is a hunter. A young woman who makes it a cuſtom to ride, puts herſelf in a fair way of leaping the ditch of love.

I have been told of a certain lady, who, after leaving no ſtone unturned to gain a nobleman's affection, but all to no purpoſe, as her laſt ſhift, thought of trying what fox-hunting might do, that being the lord's favourite ſport; and in one of the hunts ſhe clearly went over a ditch, which he never would venture on: this atchievement anſwered her wiſh to its very height; the nobleman became paſſionately enamoured with her. This adventure ſpreading, ſet half the ladies in England on mounting their ſteeds to leap over a ditch.

In

In France women make it their chief glory to wound men; in England they pride themſelves in killing beaſts. At Paris they ſend love-letters; at London, hares.

A ſight of theſe female fox-hunters would put you out of conceit for ever with the whole ſex. From the head to the cheſt they are men; but what they are from the cheſt downward to the feet, is ſcarce to be defined.

However courageous theſe game-heroines may conceit themſelves, it is very ſeldom any one is known to come up to the ſcope of this exerciſe; ſo that it is half loſt on them.

Every art begets ſome peculiar virtue. Thus hunting, an image of war, ſtrengthens the body, and inures it to thoſe fatigues which more or leſs are inſeparable from war. I do not know but it may likewiſe be productive of courage, or fix it where it meets with it: as ſuch it is highly proper in men; but that it is not ſo in women appears from its not having that happy effect in them. I have ſeen ſome of theſe hunting ladies ſo weakened by this exerciſe, which is very violent, that, only

only at thirty years of age, they could ſcarce ſtand on their feet.

Women only loſe their labour in affecting manly qualities: their weakneſs, ſome how or other, ever betrays itſelf. Beſides, were it ſo that this exerciſe did really inſpire them with courage, it is what the world has no need of: they are already but too ſtrong in their natural timidity; and what would become of us were this timidity to be changed into courage?

Nature, wiſe in all things, has ſhared the accompliſhments of the two ſexes; giving mildneſs, modeſty, moderation, and patience, to the females; whilſt men diſtinguiſh themſelves by ardour, reſolution, and courage.

To go about introducing any change in this diſpoſition of the virtues, will be filling ſociety with diſturbances and confuſion.

LET-

LETTER XXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

LETTERS are come from France which occaſion much ſpeculation among the Engliſh news mongers; for the expreſs brings advice that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's favourite ſlave had ſupped * with the Britiſh ambaſſador: now this critical ſtep puts the politicians to a ſtand, and various are the opinions concerning it; ſome conſtrue it to be a forerunner of England's total ruin, whilſt others will have it to portend the utter deſtruction of France.

The party here called Jacobites affirm, that each diſh ſerved up at the ſlave's table coſt England a million ſterling; whereas the Antigallicans ſay that France pays the whole. As all political difficulties afford a medium, ſome of the more moderate are inclined to think, that the court

* No ſuch ſupper was ever thought of.

court of Verſailles will be at the charge of the ragouts, and St. James's pay for the by-diſhes. Again ſome politicians look on this entertainment as a mere matter of indifference, and are only concerned how the Engliſh miniſter came off in the ceremonial, with a lady who is ſaid to be verſed in all the punctilios of taſte, and who knows, to a hair's breadth, where every diſh ſhould be placed.

The ſcheme of the banquet is not yet come over: particulars are expected with no leſs impatience than thoſe of a battle two years ago.

Europeans will be introducing politics into every thing; in the want of ſieges and battles they lay hold even of feaſts and repaſts, and conclude that the ruin of ſuch or ſuch a prince was the ſecret drift of an entertainment.

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

ABOUT a month ago the following letter was ſent me from Paris. It came from a Frenchman, who, aſhamed of the name, wants to go and hide himſelf in ſome remote part of China, never more to ſee or hear of his country's diſgrace.

" Mr. CHINESE,

" Being informed that you are on re-
" turning to China, allow me to beg the
" favour of taking me with you. I am
" perſuaded, that when acquainted with
" my reaſons for exiling myſelf, you will
" grant my requeſt. My caſe is this:
" I am by birth a Frenchman, and came
" into the world at the cloſe of the reign
" of Lewis XIV. Though that prince
" had put the affairs of the crown a little
" out of ſorts, and the monarchy had
" ſuſtained ſeveral conſiderable loſſes, ſtill

" was

" was the French name reſpected: the " beſt martialiſt that ever ſtept on Pruſſian " ground, would not have faced the " meaneſt French ſoldier, and a firſt-rate " Engliſh man of war would immediately " lower its flag at the ſight of one of our " ſmalleſt ſhips. But times are altered: " a hundred thouſand Frenchmen would " not be a match for fifty thouſand Pruſ- " ſians, and a few Engliſh barks are too " hard for our greateſt fleets. A petty " German prince ſtrikes France with ter- " ror, and a handful of iſlanders give law " to the greateſt monarchy in the univerſe. " The French, in Europe, out-number " the Pruſſians, ten to one, and are three " to one in reſpect of England; yet Pruſ- " ſia ſends us commands, and England " dictates to us. A diſgraceful war is " ſucceeded by a ſcandalous peace.

" Our government has ſent one of our " dukes to London, moſt humbly to beg, " that the Engliſh would be pleaſed to " accept of one of our principal colonies, " and to keep all the ſhips which they " abruptly took from us without ſo much " as declaring war.

" You will own, good Sir, that theſe " are mortifications, at which a true

" Frenchman muſt bluſh up to the ears.
" For my part, it grates me ſo, that I
" am determined to go and ſequeſter
" myſelf in the fartheſt part of Aſia.
" Be ſo kind as to let me know when
" you ſet off, by a line directed for me
" at the Antigallican Coffee-Houſe, in
" Malcontent-Street, Paris."

Before I had well read over the above, another was brought me, dated from this city.

" My Noble MANDARIN,

" I have been informed, that in a little
" time you will return to your own coun-
" try; I ſhall be very much obliged to
" you, if you will give me leave to at-
" tend on you.
" I conclude, from your being a Chi-
" neſe, that you are a man of too much
" morality to deny my intreaty, when in-
" formed of my reaſons; they are briefly
" theſe.
" I am an Engliſhman, born in the lat-
" ter end of Queen Anne's reign. Though
" the French, at that time, were pretty
" powerful,

" powerful, we fought them, as is the
" caſe at preſent. Sometimes it happen-
" ed that we had the worſt of it; ſtill we
" concluded the war with an advantage-
" ous peace, ſecuring to us our ſeveral
" rights with ſome additions. But now
" it is the very reverſe: we have drubbed
" them by ſea and land; we have ruined
" their armies and fleets; we have taken
" ſome of their ports in every part of the
" world, and made ourſelves maſters of
" their colonies; and the reſult of all
" theſe atchievements is, that we are
" making a ſcandalous peace with them.
" There's a ſkeleton of a French duke
" come over, who makes our govern-
" ment believe whatever he pleaſes: he
" has brought them to think, that it is for
" our advantage to reſtore France all we
" have taken: he has convinced the
" miniſtry, that our wealth will increaſe
" by beggaring ourſelves; for, moſt no-
" ble Mandarin, after ſo many glorious
" campaigns, nothing leſs than the total
" welfare and reputation of England lies
" at ſtake. We have loſt ſeamen and ſol-
" diers beyond all number; our population
" is lamentably weakened; our finances
" are at a ſad low ebb, and the national

" debt immeaſurably ſwelled. Nothing
" under keeping what we had conquered
" at ſuch an expence of men and money,
" could make us amends; and our crown
" has gone and made a general ceſſion.

" It may eaſily be proved that twenty
" defeats would not have coſt ſo much,
" as the laſt half dozen victories we gain-
" ed over the French: of this truth the
" very perſons who have ſigned this ſcan-
" dalous peace are perſuaded. But ſhall
" I tell you how all this is come to paſs?
" Our government, for theſe laſt ten
" years, had proceeded invariably in a
" juſt and methodical plan, and accord-
" ingly every thing went well; but an
" upſtart has appeared on the ſtage, and,
" to get himſelf a name, was for turning
" all things upſide-down; for in England,
" he who aims at the miniſtry muſt
" make great changes. It is the work of
" a party-ſpirit, which has ſwallowed up
" every other conſideration; for with us
" cabal blunders on hand-over-head, bear-
" ing down whatever happens to be in its
" way, &c. &c.

" You cannot but own, noble Manda-
" rin, that it muſt vex a true Engliſhman
" to the heart, to ſee one man ſhuffle and

" cut

" cut the cards of ſtate juſt according to " his fancy. As for me, it gives me the " heart-burn to ſuch a degree, that I long " to be out of the hearing of the very " name of Europe.

" I uſe the Jacobite Coffee-houſe, at " the ſign of King Stuart."

I am at a loſs to which I ſhall give the preference: however, if the Frenchman be of the ſame mind when I leave Europe, I believe he will be my man.

LETTER XXIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THERE are here two ſovereigns, part of whoſe buſineſs it is to do the honours of this metropolis: one reſides at St. James's, and the other lives near the Exchange.

The king of England does not affect high living; but the king of London, or the lord-mayor, keeps a very ſplendid table. He has ſometimes a large com-

pany of perſons of diſtinction; and neither the emperor of China, the Grand Mogul, nor the king of France, entertain with ſuch magnificence. Strangers being admitted to his table, I lately dined there: we had ſeven hundred different diſhes; indeed there was ſuch a profuſion, that, had they been divided, they would have feaſted all the ſovereigns in Europe, and perhaps with better fare than ſome of them are uſed to.

This lord is uſually a tradeſman. Among the European nations you continually meet with contradictions. Their firſt commercial maxim is method, œconomy, and frugality; whereas this mercantile lord is laviſh to a prodigious exceſs.

Did the preſent monarch's extravagance end with his reign, which laſts only a year, there would be no great harm; but the ſucceeding lord-mayors, to be ſure, will not be outdone; all will make it their glory to vie in luxury, and the like magnificence will be perpetuated in a claſs, of which plainneſs and moderation are the natural characteriſtics.

LET-

LETTER XXV.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

IN Europe the praiſes given to princes always depend on time, place, and circumſtances, but more eſpecially on the want there is of them. At ſuch time their courage and military virtues are extolled to the ſkies; but nothing more is heard of them when they are no longer neceſſary.

Since the ſettlement of the preliminaries of peace between France and England, there is no more talk of the king of Pruſſia than if he were in his grave. His miniſters, who were ſo careſſed about two years ago, and who looked ſo big, are ſhrunk almoſt to nothing, ſo that they ſeem to be overlooked: ſhould this ſyſtem hold, I expect they will, ere long, become inviſible atoms.

The revolutions, to which theſe changes of ſentiments are owing, produce another effect, metamorphoſing into vices the virtues which had been ſo much exalted. This monarch is charged with having

greatly over-rated his heroic qualities; and the Engliſh complain that they have not only ſupplied him with large ſums of money, but with the moſt lofty praiſes, which, according to their eſtimate, is double payment. Concerning this, I have been ſhewn the following letter, which a club of old Britons intend to tranſmit to that prince.

"SIRE,

"You cannot but know that the Engliſh have been the moſt paſſionate admirers of your heroic virtues: we have made all Europe ring with your applauſe; we have kept your birth-day with more riot than that of our own ſovereign; our public papers are filled with panegyrics on your majeſty, in proſe and verſe; we admire your ſurpriſing penetration in foreſeeing events, that fortitude which nothing can diſorder, that genius in improving every advantage in an action, and preventing the bad conſequences of a defeat; and all theſe glorious qualities accompanied with an unparalleled heroiſm.

"We

" We have punctually paid you the full " value of all your virtues in praiſes; to " heroes ever the moſt acceptable recom- " pence.

" You will therefore be pleaſed, Sir, " to return us our money."

LETTER XXVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Super-intendant of Religion at* Pekin.

London.

AMONG the Chriſtians every nation has its peculiar way of preaching what they call the goſpel. Some ſet the audience a weeping, others again incline them to laugh.

In England, the preaching, inſtead of inciting ſuch emotions, rather ſets the congregation a yawning: the miniſters ſhew themſelves ſo cold in their office, as if they meant to foſter ſinners in remiſſneſs; their lifeleſs monotony, void of all modulation and cadence, naturally brings a drowſineſs on the hearers.

A ſkilful phyſician, who uſed now and then to hear a ſermon, perceiving that they made him dull and heavy, uſed to preſcribe to ſuch of his patients as laboured under a want of ſleep, to go and hear the word of God once a week: this remedy proved ſo effectual, that after two or three Sundays, his patients ſlept very ſoundly.

Since this trial, the beſt opiate is found to be an Engliſh ſermon.

The art of convincing depends on that of perſuading: conviction follows perſuaſion.

Every one knows, every one indeed feels, that the ſame words, uttered in a certain manner, produce a certain effect; and that a different utterance will give them a different effect: the manner is ever the whole. A ſermon which, delivered in a cold manner, inclines the audience to oſcitation, would affect, and even tranſport, if animated with the warmth of elocution. Could this truth be doubted of, it is beyond all diſpute publickly verified on the ſtage, where the impreſſions made by the actors are ſeen to riſe and fall, according to the ſpirit and pathos with which they act their part.

Such

Such is the power of elocution and geſture on the ſenſes, that among the antients their tribunal was incloſed within a partition, leſt the judges might be ſeduced by the action of the orators.

Thoſe of the Engliſh pulpit are in the other extreme: whatever body their diſcourſes may have, they want ſpirit.

The word of God, ſay they, carries its power with it, and ſtands in no need of that impulſion which is neceſſary in the other branches of elocution: I ſhould think ſo too, were it preached to angels; but the audience conſiſts of men, who are not to be moved but by impreſſing their ſenſes.

LETTER XXVII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Superintendant of Religion at* Pekin.

London.

TO follow the thread of my laſt: every thing in Europe, even to the preaching of the divine word, is wrong.

The Italian preachers, who have to deal with a very ſenſible audience, overdo their

their elocution; one would think they ſpoke to lifeleſs ſtatues, or that the ſouls of believers, in that country, were ſo ſtupid, that nothing under the roar of thunder could move them.

In England, where the audiences are really ſuch ſtatues, the preachers are no better: not for Chriſt's kingdom, whoſe doctrine they preach, would they alter their tone, or ſtir a finger; and certainly the actors, whom I mentioned in my laſt, muſt be ſenſible of this national phlegm; for none in Europe come near them for rage and paſſion. The ſucceſs of the method uſed in one aſſembly ſhould be a document to the ſpeakers in the other.

The reading a comedy in a frigid monotony would never make a convert from the vice or foible expoſed in it; few of the company would ſo much as perceive the keenneſs of the ridicule it was intended to convey. Were it read a hundred times, the company would not be moved, conſequently not amend. Now, in all religions, the pulpit is, as it were, a ſtage, and heaven the drama exhibited for men's inſtruction.

I am very far from meaning that there ſhould be any thing theatrical in preaching

ing of the word of God, or in the diſplay of heavenly myſteries; I am only for that degree of pathos, or fervour, which is really neceſſary to affect the hearers.

The profeſſors of the worldly ſtage ſtudy their parts; but the Engliſh preachers do not trouble themſelves about rehearſals.

A Britiſh evangeliſt has three things to diſpatch on a Sunday morning; the firſt is, to breakfaſt; the ſecond, to compoſe his ſermon; and the third, to deliver it.

Some there are who even ſave themſelves the ſecond, having a complete aſſortment for all the Sundays and holidays in the year.

Concerning this I have been told of a London rector, who, by inadvertency, putting up in his pocket the ſermon of the preceding Sunday, inſtead of that for the day, began to read it without being aware of his miſtake, till he had gone on for ſome time; when, ſuddenly ſtopping, he addreſſed the congregation in the following words: "Dearly beloved brethren, "you will excuſe my not going on, as you "already know what I ſhould ſay to you, "for laſt Sunday I gave you the very "ſame ſermon." And ſo leaving the pulpit, he withdrew to the veſtry.

For

For an exhortatory diſcourſe to take effect, the orator ſhould have all his organs at liberty; as on their play and action perſuaſion in a great meaſure depends.

An Engliſh preacher is ſo taken up with what he is reading, that he cannot mind what he is ſaying; and his eyes being immoveably fixed on the paper, he is incapable of any action: he is tied down to his ſermon.

The Italian and French preachers are under no ſuch reſtraint, relying on their memory: they know before-hand what they have to ſay: the principles, which it is their province to explain and inculcate, are imprinted in their brain; whereas an Engliſh miniſter may be juſtly taxed with ignorance of religious morality, not one of them learning a word of it by heart.

LETTER XXVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE laſt advices from France ſay, that the government have proceeded againſt the officers, who were wanting in a proper defence of the American places which had been intruſted to them.

By their ſentence they are deprived of all honour; that is, they forfeit what they never had: ſome are degraded from their nobility, and others impriſoned for life.

The nation, in reality, herein brings itſelf to a trial; for the diſgrace and penalties of theſe individuals reflect on the people in general.

When they, who ought to defend the ſtate to the utmoſt, fail in their duty, there muſt evidently be ſome original fault, to which ſuch miſbehaviour is owing; and it is not ſo much individuals who are to be blamed, as the conſtitution; the principles of which muſt be defective and corrupt.

The

The puniſhment of ſuch delinquents is but a ſorry revenge: perhaps it were better omitted, and thus the national diſgrace be hidden: but France ſeems to have determined not to think of curing the diſeaſe, till it is paſt all remedy.

LETTER XXIX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Cotao-yu-ſe, *at* Pekin.

London.

THIS place affords bad and good female company. The former conſiſt of thoſe who give themſelves up to their deſires without much caution, with whom an agreement is ſoon clapped up, and who ſhew themſelves ſuch as they are, that is, giddy and wanton, openly plunging themſelves into pleaſures and diverſions.

The ſecond claſs are the reſerved and circumſpect, with whom a ſurrender is preceded by many negotiations and precautions; who lead men through labyrinths of which they only have the clue; who totally ſhroud themſelves; who appear to be without deſires or ſenſes; who affect an

an averſion to all amuſements of a dangerous, or even ſuſpicious appearance; and whoſe diſintereſtedneſs is ſuch, that on no account would they concur in guilt, unleſs a great fortune were in the caſe. As I eſtimate things according to their worth, and take care not to be deceived by appearances, bad female company ſeems to me leſs dangerous than the good: at leaſt, here are numbers of people of faſhion, who, after ſpending their life in this good company, are arrived at ſuch a pitch of morality as to have no morals.

LETTER XXX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

AMONG thoſe European nations which are under the ſpiritual dominion of the Pope, religion allows the people to be mad only once a year. This ſeaſon, as I think I have ſaid in one of my former, is called the Carnival; during which, they are permitted to diſguiſe themſelves,

ſelves, and ſpend the night in dancing, gaming, and all manner of revelry.

In England, folly has no ſtated ſeaſon; all the year is carnival-time here: I was yeſterday at a maſquerade given by a duke; there was a prodigious company of all nations, but not one Engliſhman; ſo that the dancing-room ſeemed a rendezvous of all nations, excluſively of Great-Britain.

The French often divert themſelves in their proper appearance; whereas the Engliſh ſeldom or never dance, but when maſked. This I attribute to Britiſh gravity, which cannot bring itſelf to frolic bare-faced.

The dreſſes were extremely rich; the ladies eſpecially were all over diamonds; but I have ſince been informed, that the greater part of this luxury was hired at ſo much an hour. This thou wilt perceive is no bad contrivance for oſtentation, as thus ſelf-love gratifies its vanity at a reaſonable rate, and for ten pounds ſterling makes the appearance of ten thouſand. This is an œconomy which our Chineſe women are yet ſtrangers to.

All the ſeveral degrees and orders of the Roman clergy were at this ball. Theſe are indeed the only aſſemblies where the Engliſh

Engliſh government allows them to appear in their habits; and here they are under no reſtraint of decency. I ſaw a cardinal romping a great part of the night with a young lady, who kindly indulged his eminence in ſome pretty familiar endearments.

It was expected that the pope would have danced; but, unfortunately for the aſſembly, the milliner who was to have made the diſguiſe, had not been able to finiſh all his *pontificalia*; on which account his holineſs, not to debaſe the dignity of the ſacred ſee, did not make his appearance.

Beſides the Roman church, ſeveral other branches of ſociety enjoy the like privilege of irregularity: I obſerved a party where an Harlequin was dancing with a lady, and a dutcheſs with a Scaramouch. But the baronet, who was at this maſquerade in the diſguiſe of a pyramid of Egypt *, explained to me the myſtery: Harlequin was the dutcheſs's huſband; and the lady, Scaramouch's miſtreſs.

* Such diſguiſes have been known.

LET-

LETTER XXXI.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* Paris.

Madrid.

I Have ſomewhere mentioned to you the fatigue and labours of the French miniſters, but thoſe of the court of Spain ſtill exceed them; they have not the leaſt reſpite: it is really prodigious to ſee what pains they take to make the affairs of the monarchy ſtill worſe and worſe.

One would think they were hired by the other potentates, and that their principal concern was to prevent the ſtate's emerging from its preſent languor and debility; at leaſt, all their meaſures have a tendency that way.

Their miniſtry is ſpent in intrigues and cabals: the main point is to ſupplant each other; and during theſe particular conteſts, the ſtate may fare as it can; nobody minds it: the variances of the great men take up the public attention. Beſides the vexation of perſonal quarrels, they ſpend themſelves at their deſks:

deſks: they ſhut themſelves up in the day-time, and ſet up all night writing diſpatches. Did they not make their appearance at court, and in the town, that the king and the people may be witneſſes to their fatigue, there would be no ſuch thing as ſeeing them: ſmaller matters would ſo far get the better of them, that they would not be at leiſure to recollect that they have been choſen to be a ſupport to the crown.

LETTER XXXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE European women are generally too giddy and diſſipated for paſſions requiring conduct and vigilance. The ſweets of a tender and refined love are only for thoſe who are verſed in ſelf-enjoyment. The ſex give themſelves up to a continual round of diverſions, ſo that their ſouls know nothing of ſerenity and repoſe: the day is too ſhort for them; months and years paſs unperceived in the whirl

whirl of pleaſure: time fails them; and they ſcarce have the leiſure to deceive their huſbands.

The ſex here have ſomething in them ſtronger than love itſelf; I mean diſſipation. The prettieſt fellow in the world would not be thought a compenſation for the pleaſure of running the round of operas, plays, balls, and aſſemblies, beſides the public walks, and caſual and periodical diverſions, all wide inlets to diſſipation, ſo that they are ſure of never being left to themſelves.

In the mean time, the men who dangle after them to theſe places are wearied to death; and they who come after them are alſo killed with the ſame fatigue.

It had been purpoſed to ſuppreſs part of theſe diverſions, as corrupting the national morals; but this would have been ſecluding one vice, and opening a door to ſeveral: I dare ſay, intemperance and debauchery would have gained more by ſuch a reformation than diſſipation would have loſt.

In a ſtate where virtue is not under the immediate protection of the laws, and incontinency is not prevented by the conſtitution,

ſtitution, the ſex ſhould not be left to themſelves.

The European women could not bear the inactivity and reſtraint of an eaſtern ſeraglio; their paſſions would grow outrageous for want of amuſement: they would lay hold of every thing; for want of men, they would take up with eunuchs. Many an European huſband, who hugs himſelf for being bleſſed with ſuch a virtuous wife, little knows that for her fidelity he is obliged to a ſeries of frivolous amuſements, and that his honour, as it is called here, he holds of rope-dancers, the puppet-ſhow, or opera.

LETTER XXXIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Superintendant of Religion at* Pekin.

London.

COULD men do without religion, and, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, adore God without any form of worſhip, they would be the happier, and the Deity better ſerved.

I dined

I dined lately, by invitation, with a virtuoſo in dogmas, who had got together a complete collection of religions: the gueſts were a Roman Catholic, a Proteſtant, a Jew, an Anabaptiſt, a Turk, and, myſelf, a Chineſe.

The ſeveral ſects in Europe being diſtinguiſhed by ſome characteriſtic in their exteriors, we immediately knew each other, though the firſt time of ever ſeeing one another; and a general diſdain gradually clouded every countenance.

The Roman-Catholic frowned on the Proteſtant, who expreſſed a great contempt of the Catholic, as one eaten up with ſuperſtition. The Jew looked on theſe two Chriſtians as wretchedly blind, and in the Anabaptiſt's eye the Jew laboured under the moſt groſs and blaſphemous errors. The Turk and I alone ſhewed no rancour againſt perſons who had never done us any wrong, only did not hold the ſame articles of belief as we. Our converſation, at firſt, was very grave and decent; it was not till religion came on the carpet, that it grew hot and irregular.

In the common diſputes of the Europeans, it is not abſolutely impoſſible for one party to gain an allowed ſuperiority, as,

as, amidſt all their conceited attachment to their opinions, they do not eſteem themſelves quite infallible; but in religious matters it is a ſtanding rule, never to own one's ſelf in the wrong; ſo powerful is this prepoſſeſſion, that on no conſideration will they deſiſt.

Religion, which, among theſe people, is an excuſe for every thing, blaſphemies and invectives not excepted, generally prompts them on theſe occaſions to come to high words. The Roman-Catholic, whom, as maſter of the houſe, the laws of hoſpitality ſhould have taught otherwiſe, fell foul of the Proteſtant, who transferred his invectives to the Jew, and he paſſed them to the Anabaptiſt: the Turk and myſelf likewiſe received ſome ſplaſhes.

After having ſtoutly railed at one another, the company roſe from table, darting threatening looks on all ſides, as much as to ſay, that on the firſt opportunity they could not fail to renew the action.

Europe, at preſent, is divided into as many mutual enemies, as there are people of different ſects: the antipathies ariſing from the difference of manners, genius, and temper, have their intermiſſion; but that hatred, the ſource of which lies in the

difference of religion, knows no abatement; it is ever the ſame, without any temperament of lenity; it is an exacerbation on which time itſelf, that has ſuch a power on the human heart, makes no impreſſion.

It is now above ſeventeen hundred years ſince the Iſraelites have deteſted the followers of Chriſt, and theſe again have abhorred the Iſraelites. The rancour between the Roman-Catholics and Proteſtants is not much above two hundred years ſtanding, as before that time they were of one and the ſame ſect. It is inconceivable what bloody wars this difference has occaſioned. Indeed every ſect in Europe is all over beſmeared with blood; and how can you think that religions make for man's happineſs?

LET-

LETTER XXXIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Same, at* Pekin.

London.

THE French and Engliſh are very fond of a diverſion, which is really more dreadful than the tragedies acted at the theatre; it is called Gaming, and there is ſcarce a houſe in which it is not exhibited.

The ſtage is a green table, and all, the actors perform their parts with, are little pieces of paſte-board, on one ſide of which are painted magical figures; and very ſtrange are their effects on the gameſters, though far from being alike in all: in ſome they excite cheerfulneſs and exultation, and to others they give a look of vexation and reſentment.

This theatre has no fixed hour, though it generally opens at the beginning of the night, and laſts till near ſun-riſing; for in theſe pieces the acts are not limited.

Gaming is a kind of ſcience, the ſcope of which is, to be lucky: this luck is nothing but a combination of chance; and the grand point is, to have more of ſome pieces of paſte-board than of others; and in this ſuperiority lies the difficulty of ſolving the problem of the game. The annals of this monarchy mention great numbers of perſons who have hanged or drowned themſelves, for having never been able to come at this ſolution.

The laws of play are to be met with in a book, which all the world almoſt knows by heart, without having ever read it. Beſides this printed code, there are doctors of gaming who determine occurrences which the legiſlature could not foreſee, its votaries ever tranſgreſſing its inſtitutes.

Gaming is a kind of civil war, where the weaker generally beats the ſtronger, and boldneſs often makes a better hand of it than prudence. Sometimes, on the contrary, timidity ſucceeds, and courage miſcarries.

The gaming tribe are continually taken up in paſſing definitive decrees, from which no appeal lies.

This ſpectacle is divided into two branches, low or pleaſurable gaming, and high

high or deſtructive gaming: the former leads to inconveniences, and the latter ruins; one may be called the Comedy of the World, and the other the Tragedy of Chance.

It is ſcarce poſſible to give thee an adequate deſcription of this diverſion; but I believe thou wilt think it ſufficiently abominable, when I tell thee that its votaries muſt certainly be actuated by an infernal fury. Some violently ſtrike themſelves, and tear their clothes; others break the ſtage to pieces, and even gnaw and devour thoſe magical figures which excite theſe frenzies: ſome have been known to ſwallow wax candles when quite lighted.

The frequency of theſe fits threw the patients into a lethargy, which gave time to conſider of ways and means for aboliſhing both altar and idol. Accordingly, this blind divinity, which gameſters had always revered, was ejected out of the temple of Chance, and another, more clear ſighted, ſucceeded to its honours.

Now play was productive of no greater events than ſuch as the actors themſelves introduced. The importance and motions of the little paſte-board figures was regulated, and the ſucceſs depended on the

dexterity of the hands which had them under their management.

This new deity, though very much given to tricking, ſoon came into great vogue; its temple is crowded with worſhippers of all claſſes and conditions.

LETTER XXXV.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

IN France, and moſt European countries, the propenſity to women is a vice of the mind; in Spain it is a diſeaſe in the human frame.

It is no more in the power of a Spaniard not to love, than it is not to be indiſpoſed. The ſex derives its empire from the climate; their dominion is interwoven with the conſtitution.

The fever of Spaniſh love is continual; the diſeaſe only ſhifts its object: they are no ſooner got over a delirium for one female, than immediately another turns their brain: their torture is ſtill the ſame; all

all the difference lies in the inſtrument of it.

Age itſelf is not a certain cure for this diſeaſe; infirmity and paſſion often go together. The Spaniard never ceaſes to love, till his laſt gaſp; ſome even make appointments with their miſtreſſes for the other world, that they may indulge their mutual paſſions for all eternity. So amorous a people, thou wilt readily imagine, muſt be extremely jealous; and ſo they are.

A huſband does not allow his wife to ſee her brother, nor converſe with her couſin: his indulgence goes no farther than her being ſhut up with her director, or ſpending two or three hours in private every day with her confeſſor. This is, as it were, a conjugal inſtinct, and without which marriage would ſcarce be ſupportable; for what a ſad thing would it be for a young wife to have eternally at her ſide an old, ugly, infirm, and jealous huſband! ſhe muſt ſoon ſink under ſuch miſery; but the vigour of a luſty Dominican or Franciſcan makes amends for all other grievances: thus the huſband is eaſy, and the wife pleaſed. I have often obſerved that, in

Europe, every thing, even the moſt deſperate evils, have their remedy.

LETTER XXXVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE faſhion in Europe, beſides its abſolute power over dreſs, ſeems to extend its ſway even over the human ſpecies.

There are times, at Paris and at London, when faſhion does not allow of ſpeaking diſtinctly; and then the genteel world ſtammers: the preſent faſhion is, not to ſee very clear; he or ſhe either, who, in defiance of mode, ſhould look ſtedfaſtly at an object without a glaſs, would be accounted unworthy to appear in good company: people of faſhion never go abroad without a microſcope, like ſo many naturaliſts, continually making obſervations on bodies.

At the play or opera you ſee two or three hundred ogling-glaſſes, pointed one againſt the other. The beauties of the females,

females, to reach the men, muſt paſs through the glaſs; otherwiſe, ſo faſhion ordains, they are arreſted half way; and he who would be thought a connoiſſeur in optics of beauty, muſt uſe the glaſs.

A few days ago I was engaged with a party of two or three young ladies, and as many young gentlemen, to go to the play, where we promiſed ourſelves a great deal of entertainment; but, by an unaccountable inadvertency, not one of the company had brought their eyes, ſo that, for ſhame, we could not pretend to ſee.

I have been told for certain truth, that hunch backs will ſoon come into faſhion. Should the fair ſex give into it, the inconvenience will be very great; for women having a protuberance before, nine months in the year, ſhould they put on one behind alſo, there would be no walking London ſtreets.

There is alſo ſome talk of lameneſs being a faſhion; if ſo, the whole nation will hobble, and ſome fribbles already are practiſing a pretty limp.

As to inattention, that has been gaining ground this long time: a well-bred man is always more or leſs abſent from the place where he is.

LETTER XXXVII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

NOTHING, I believe, has more contributed to bring about the general peace of Europe, than that it was not thought neceſſary to have the ſeveral claims of the belligerant powers diſcuſſed in a congreſs.

Two men only took this affair in hand, and immediately brought it to an iſſue; whereas ten commiſſioners would have been years about it, and, after all, things have remained *in ſtatu quo.*

In the diviſions of princes it is a certain maxim here, that the more mediators, the more is the mediation clogged; the difficulties increaſing in proportion to the number of the powers that intervene.

Every miniſter is for availing himſelf of the preſent circumſtance, to ſtart ſome particular claims; ſo that the general affair, which cauſed the congreſs, is poſtponed, and often eluded.

A general

A general congreſs is, as it were, a heavy road, over-run with thorns and briars: the miſunderſtandings of crowns flow hither from all parts; it is a tribunal to which all the affairs of Europe are brought for deciſion; and, in litigations, it is well known that the political are the moſt tedious.

Two or three princes, treating together about a general peace, come at once to the point, without any of the *ambages* affected by plenipotentiaries. If any difficulties ariſe, they relate to the eſſential, whilſt punctilioes are overlooked: to hit the nail on the head the firſt ſtroke, and to confine the diſcuſſions to what have been the principal object of the quarrel, is a good beginning.

In a word, the bare avoiding the wranglings about elbow-chairs, prerogatives, precedency, and the many other trifles of ceremony, is a great ſtep towards the public tranquillity.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London, Sept. 1762.

THE expulſion of the black bonzes with broad-brimmed hats, who are now baniſhed for ever out of France, has cauſed the court of Rome to hold an extraordinary council on what is to be done in an affair, in which nothing remained to be done. It is the uſual folly of Chriſt's vicegerent to call a council for deliberating on what other courts have decided for him; but it being an inveterate diſeaſe, which there is no poſſibility of curing, he is left to his old cuſtom. The chief of the Chriſtian ſect, however, never fails pronouncing and promulgating his deciſions.

On advice of this expulſion he called together his council, or thirty-three of his aids-de-camp, ſtiled cardinals; when it was reſolved, that the procedures and acts of the parliament of Paris, relating to the expulſion of that ſociety, were ſo many violations of his authority, and, being the acts of an incompetent court, were illegal

illegal and void: but appeals of incompetency being, in Europe, of no effect, if not ſupported by armies, and Chriſt's lieutenant having none, the act of the parliament of Paris has been fully executed.

Well is it for Europe, that the Holy See, as it is called, keeps no army on foot, or what troops it has are only for apoſtolical ſplendour and parade; otherwiſe this part of the world, beſides its political wars, would never be free from religious quarrels: every act of parliament affecting the bonzes would be productive of bloodſhed. The ſame eccleſiaſtical prerogative which intitles it to interfere in every thing, it ſeems, diſables it from deciding any thing; and to this inability the Chriſtian potentates, in a great meaſure, owe their real power.

LETTER XXXIX.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE law, in England, muſt be very ſtrong to ſtand its ground againſt a hoſt of wranglers continually aſſaulting it on all ſides. The regular forces of litigation, only for the city of London, are ſaid to exceed all number: indeed, poor law is on its laſt legs; and the very judges are quite bewildered; they often know not which way to take.

Every nation in Europe has its peculiar method for trying crimes.

In France, a trial turns on the culprit's fact; in England, the ſpirit of the law is chiefly conſidered; and this ſpirit admitting various interpretations, as many ways may juſtice be eluded: this the law itſelf ſeems to have intended, chicanery being that ſpirit.

Moſt thefts are, here, good prize: the law, indeed, puniſhes them, but without any compenſation to the perſon robbed: one ſuffers, but the other is never the better

better for it. Now this is doing juſtice only by halves: the money or goods ſtolen, inſtead of returning to the proprietor after conviction, remain to the robber, as a conſolation under his ſentence.

An Engliſhman, if he can but bring himſelf to ſpend his life in priſon, may ſecurely enjoy an ill-gotten eſtate, or a ſum of money which he borrowed with an intent never to repay; or, if he makes light of loſing ſome part of his body, he may rob more openly.

All the emoluments of his roguery are ſecure gains to him, and he loſes only what he had previouſly reſolved on ſacrificing in conſideration of ſuch emoluments.

I have, myſelf, ſeen an Engliſhman who has got twelve hundred pounds ſterling a year, only at the expence of his noſe; and another, who had parted with his ears for one hundred. The latter had forged a deed of gift, and ſuffered the law; but the gift remained in his hands, and at his death he diſpoſed of it as his lawful property. According to the Engliſh juriſprudence, diſmembering a delinquent is enough without reſtitution; otherwiſe the puniſhment would be double: ſome alteration

ration indeed has been lately made in this article, yet far ſhort of punctual equity.

The firſt duty of juſtice, after puniſhing the crime which diſturbs the order of ſociety, is to reinſtate every one in the poſſeſſion of his property: it is a ſcandal that a nation, which is looked on as one of the moſt ſenſible in Europe, ſhould be wanting in ſuch a capital principle.

LETTER XL.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

PEACE indeed has reſtored the public tranquillity here; but it has ſo extremely diſturbed ſociety, that ſcarce any body is ſafe: people are ſtopped and robbed in broad day. Twenty thouſand ſoldiers, their atchievements being now at an end, are turned robbers, and, in the want of enemies, plunder their country.

The ſeamen, who have done ſo much honour to the Britiſh crown, are reduced to ſupport themſelves by violence, and, after very glorioufly ſerving their country, are put to a ſcandalous death by the hands of a wretched

a wretched executioner. Thus war, after waſting the finances and cramping population, makes matters ſtill worſe when it comes to ceaſe: ſo great is its influence, that it ſubſiſts after the cauſes of it have been removed.

When ſovereigns ſo far quarrel with each other as to take up arms, they compel their ſubjects to quit a trade which furniſhed them with a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and make them take up with another, for which there is no demand when the ſieges and battles are over. The ſigning of a peace leaves numbers of people without trade or buſineſs, and conſequently without a ſubſiſtence.

At the end of a war, every ſoldier ſhould receive an equivalent for the calling, which he was forced to quit to carry a brown muſket. It is no more than plain juſtice, that he who has left a ſubſiſtence to ſerve his country, ſhould be reſtored to that ſubſiſtence when his country has no longer need of his ſervices; but I don't know that ever ſuch a thought occurred to any weſtern government. And hence it is, that on a general peace every kingdom is moleſted with inteſtine depredations.

LETTER XLI.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

THE Spaniſh compoſitions would not want wit, were it not prohibited. I have ſeen, by ſome of their books, that they could be learned, and even profound; but wo to him who is ſo much as ſuſpected of any ſuch thing! he is ruined to all intents and purpoſes.

Every great man, who has dared to ſhew his parts and underſtanding, has ſuffered the loſs of life or liberty.

Here are a ſet of idle ignorant men, whoſe province it is, to examine the productions of the preſs; and all ſuch productions, which their incapacity does not reliſh, they anathematiſe.

Beſides their natural inſufficiency, a more important motive is, to hinder the formation of the national genius; for, ſhould the underſtanding once clear up, all would be loſt. Mental blindneſs muſt be kept up, or monkiſh deſpotiſm falls to the ground.

This

This deſpotiſm Spain may thank for the little progreſs ſhe has made in politics, arts, and ſciences.

However favourable the climate may be for diſſipating the general ignorance, the phyſical cauſes are never known to prevail againſt public prejudice.

LETTER XLII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

WERT thou at London, and to ſee the king of England, thou wouldſt think he had no kingdom, ſo little is there of that ſplendour about him, with which kings of other countries are environed. His uſual ſtate is a coach and pair, and two footmen; and when he rides out, there's ſometimes only a ſingle equerry. Every little mandarin at China has a greater retinue. He is no leſs moderate and plain in his houſhold than in his external appearance.

George the IIId, the preſent ſovereign, perhaps from an opinion that St. James's palace

palace was too large for his majeſty, has purchaſed a little houſe at the end of the Park, where he now ſpends moſt of his time. Thou knoweſt our auguſt emperor's ſummer-houſe: well, this royal palace is juſt ſuch a thing.

Concerning this a great deal may be ſaid *pro* and *con*. I ſhall not pretend to give my judgment: it might beſides puzzle a more ſkilful politician; for, though the other European potentates are in the right to affect ſhow and magnificence, thoſe of England are in the right not to do ſo. Should a Paris politician ſay, that the king of France's ſplendour is a part of his power, a London politician may affirm that the moderation of the king of Great-Britain conſtitutes his: ſhould the former add, that his monarchy requires ſplendour in the ſovereign, the latter may reply, that in the kingdom of England there muſt be no ſuch thing.

For ſolving this queſtion I don't know but the beſt way may be, to recur to the political conſtitution.

Equality and moderation in expence are the very ſoul of a monarchical republic. In England the power of the ſtate is in the nation,

nation, and not in the king. A throne is only a figure, a repreſentation of it: now an Engliſh monarch affecting pomp and ſplendour would repreſent it too ſtrongly; he would tranſgreſs that equality which is the ſupport of the conſtitution: his glitter would dazzle eyes which were uſed to ſee nothing beyond moderation, and thus throw every thing into diſorder and confuſion.

LETTER XLIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE Reformation, to be ſure, was of great advantage to this kingdom; but I do not know whether it was not carried too far.

I could almoſt ſay that the French are too much Chriſtians, and the Engliſh not enough. The European nations ſeem to ſcorn limits in every thing, running into extremities.

The Euchariſt and the ſaints have been ejected out of the Engliſh religion, but

without ſubſtituting any thing in lieu of them; which occaſions a void in the worſhip here.

A difference ſhould be made between that heap of ſuperfluous ceremonies, which alienate the mind from the true worſhip of God, and thoſe holy obſervances which feed and exalt real devotion.

We are zealous for things of daily practice, and as indifferent to thoſe which ſeldom come in our way. Hence it is that the Jews and Mahometans, having abundance of external rites, are ſo tenacious of their religion; whereas ſavages, having few or no ſuch rites, eaſily change.

The Roman religion is too much clogged with ceremonies; and, perhaps, that of England is too bare of them. Here the Deity is freely dealt with; they put themſelves to no inconveniency for worſhipping him. They aſſiſt at the public ſervice on Sundays; but as to the reſt of the week, they no more mind frequenting God's temple than if he had none: a great many even omit going on Sundays, as if they had both altar and idol at home. They read a few chapters of a book, which they call the Bible; and this is the whole of their Sunday's worſhip.

Not

Not that the churches are not open, and prayers ſaid in the other days of the week; but it is only the lame and the blind, and ſuch as have nothing elſe to do but to pray, who make up the congregation.

By this coldneſs in the ordinary practices of religion, the believers of this ſect are in the way to infidelity; and from thence to atheiſm is but a ſhort ſtep.

Here the worſhip has no connection with the manners; the vices and virtues are totally independent of the articles of religion. The ſyſtem of the government and a certain political and civil morality uphold the ſtate: Chriſtianity is practiſed here quite abſtractly from any tenets or rites. I do not ſee but, occaſionally, England could almoſt do without any religion.

LET-

LETTER XLIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

ENGLAND, ſaid the Baronet lately to me, has eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem which cannot but be a great incentive to military qualities, being founded on intereſt, the moſt powerful *mobile* of the human breaſt. By this ſyſtem all prizes taken from the enemy become the property of the captors: likewiſe the movables of all conqueſts are to belong to them.

The courage of ſome officers in this laſt war has been eſtimated to have gained them no leſs than a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Now this, thou ſeeſt, muſt give a great intrinſic value to military abilities.

It may be preſumed that theſe late examples will induce great numbers to put on the ſword; for, of all emulations, none comes up to that of money. The heroes of our nation, who, on all occaſions, have

have ſhewn a noble contempt of life, will not now ſhew the like contempt of riches.

It is rather to be apprehended, that this trade of heroiſm may affect other profeſſions, and we may come to have too many dealers in glory.

Thoſe brave nations, added he, who antiently conquered the world, were ſtrangers to this venality in the military art: the glory of performing noble actions was a reward, which they would not have exchanged for all the money in the world.

Every perſon ought to be ſatisfied with the pleaſure of ſerving his country; he advantage of the conqueſt ought to be general, and the glory of it perſonal: but moſt of the regulations in Europe tend to deſtroy thoſe very virtues, on which the governments are founded.

LETTER XLV.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE day after, the Baronet calling on me, began as follows: To go on with my laſt ſubject, I think our government, in giving up the movables of conquered provinces to the general officers, has done more than it can warrant; they are the property of the common-wealth; and this is ſacred: to alienate it, is really defrauding the people. It is they who pay the whole charge of the war; and to them ſhould belong, not only the advantages of the conqueſts, but likewiſe of all its appurtenances.

Any territory conquered from the enemy, ought to be united to the crown, and the movables depoſited in the public treaſury, as a compenſation for paſt impoſts, or to prevent additional ones; otherwiſe the people are left without any hopes of relief; which muſt either diſpirit or enrage them.

War is the ſoldier's natural ſtate: hardſhips, diſtreſſes, and dangers, are its conſequence.

For ſeveral ages the military men in Europe made war at their own expence; the inhabitants of towns all the while paying little or nothing. Then, indeed, the ſoldiery may be ſaid to have a right to the booty; but, fortune not being always on their ſide, they ſold that title to ſovereigns, in conſideration of a regular pay; that is, they thereby renounced all manner of right to the movables of conquered countries.

When the plunder, taken in war, uſed to be divided among the Roman ſoldiers, they received no pay from the ſtate; but on the appointment of pay, the booty became the public property, and the military men had not the leaſt claim or title to it.

Every government, to be ſure, may reward a ſubject who has performed ſome ſignal action, or done important ſervice to the ſtate; but ſuch rewards ſhould be poſts, titles, honours, and never the public money.

LETTER XLVI.

The Some, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

WHAT I have ſaid to thee elſewhere concerning the reſolutions of the Engliſh parliament, holds good in regard to the ſpeeches made there. When one party has got the majority, the harangues of the other always come too late. The elocution of theſe Engliſh orators only agitates the air: they are however heard; for in England every one has freedom of ſpeech: nay, more, they are admired, and their arguments allowed to be convincing; but the oppoſite party ſtill go on their own way.

This brings to my mind a little ſtory I have read ſomewhere in France, which, though very remote from my ſubject, is not without ſome relation to it.

A gentleman, being in want of money, went to a very exorbitant uſurer, who, having heard his buſineſs, took him to church with him. The preacher's ſubject happened to be uſury, and he gave ſuch

a lively portraiture of that vice, that the uſurer himſelf was ſtruck with it. After ſermon, turning to the gentleman who came to borrow money of him, "Sir," ſaid he, "this is noble preaching indeed: "never did man ſpeak more to the pur- "poſe: he has done his duty incompa- "rably well; let us go likewiſe, and diſ- "patch our buſineſs."

So the members of the court party, after the elaborate harangues of thoſe in the oppoſition, might ſay: Thoſe gentlemen talk finely; they have diſcharged their duty; let us now diſcharge ours.

Though theſe fine ſpeeches never effect a change in meaſures, yet one thing, and that no trifle, is to be learned from them; which is, that a ſtate may be acquainted with every remedy and preſervative againſt corruption, at the very time that it ſuffers corruption to prey upon its very vitals.

LETTER XLVII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

THE police of this kingdom is now become one of the principal objects of the government's care; the prince himſelf attends to it. At preſent, people may travel in Spain; the roads begin to be practicable and convenient: it is no longer neceſſary to take houſe and furniture with one, as formerly was the caſe; inns being ſet up on the road, where ſtrangers are entertained, paying according to what fare they require.

Madrid already looks like an European city, having been repaired and embelliſhed.

But this is beginning the reformation of a ſtate where it ſhould end; and I could wiſh that kings would trace great abuſes to their very ſource, leaving the inferior cares of the police to their officers, and theſe to make a report of their proceedings

to

to the ſovereign at his leiſure; I mean, that, in government, the principal ſhould always take the lead of the acceſſories.

LETTER XLVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE Engliſh projectors go farther than thoſe of any other country in the world. A Britiſh politician, who is pleaſed ſometimes to let me into his deſigns on Europe, lately ſhewed me a plan for making a German prince the greateſt monarch in the world.

Not a few perſons have propoſed the taking from certain over-grown European potentates a part of their dominion; but my acquaintance's project amounts to nothing leſs than ſtripping twenty ſovereigns at once; and all this only for a hundred pounds ſterling to be paid to the author of ſuch an important ſcheme.

A Plan of Aggrandiſement propoſed to the King of Pruſſia.

" SIR,

" Your Majeſty has carried on a war " for ſeveral years, only to keep one pro- " vince, whilſt, with the ſame troops, " you might have conquered the fineſt " country in the univerſe: I mean Italy, " which is defenceleſs, and may be taken " by the firſt European prince who will " ſet about it. A ſingle campaign would " do your Majeſty's buſineſs.

" As to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, your " troops need only ſhew themſelves: a " train of artillery, conſiſting of two cul- " verines, would frighten Rome into a " ſurrender: the firſt fire would put the " troops of the holy ſee to flight, and thus " your Majeſty would become maſter of " the queen of the univerſe. After taking " poſſeſſion of the Capitol and the caſtle of " St. Angelo, the pope ſhould be ſent to " Avignon with the title of governor of " Carpentras and the Venaiſin. John the " XXIId was not above making it his " reſidence, and found it ſufficiently large

" for

" for him: why then ſhould it be too
" ſmall for a pope in theſe times?

" The conqueſt of Naples is nearly as
" eaſy, only changing the culverines into
" cannon: it would, however, be proper
" to have a body of troops ready in
" caſe of need; for your Majeſty makes
" little account of reliques, and the Ne-
" apolitans would rather die than their
" Saint *Genaro* ſhould fall into the hands
" of an heretic prince.

" Your Majeſty, on maſtering their
" city, will ſend away the king of Naples
" to Sicily, ſecuring that kingdom to him
" and his heirs for ever.

" In your return from Naples and
" Rome, your Majeſty will, by the way,
" take St. Marino, Bologna, and Ferrara.

" The republic of Venice is decrepit
" with age, being fourteen hundred years
" old; ſo it is time an end were made of
" her. A ſingle company of your guards
" will diſperſe and aboliſh its ſenate, and
" ſend all the people to Corfú, Zant, and
" Cephalonia.

" Ten thouſand men will ſuffice for
" laying ſiege to Genoa, and obliging the
" republic to ſhip herſelf for Corſica. Every
" body knows how very deſirous ſhe is to

" have that people under her command:
" now this will be a fine opportunity for
" her to go in perſon, and ſubdue thoſe
" rebels.

" A ſubaltern officer, with twenty picked
" men, will make himſelf maſter of Mo-
" dena, Regio and Corregio; and, as the
" ſovereign of this petty ſtate is very fond
" of delegated authority, ſuppoſe he was
" made governor of Sileſia.

" The conqueſt of Parma, Placentia,
" and Guaſtalla, requires a larger detach-
" ment: this will make ſure work of
" them, and without any injury to the
" reigning prince; for Don Philip, being
" extremely fond of Spain, and liking
" Italy as little, will be very glad of this
" opportunity of returning into his own
" country.

" The only difficulty lies in Piedmont;
" its ſovereign being a ſagacious, vigilant,
" and ſpirited prince: however, he is not
" unconquerable; and I am inclined to
" think, that Emanuel will rather with-
" draw to Sardinia or Savoy, than ſtand
" a battle with your forces.

" As to the Milaneſe, the dutchy of
" Mantua and Tuſcany, the houſe of
" Auſtria will readily exchange them with

" you

" you for Sileſia. Thus, here is your " Majeſty ſole ſovereign of Italy."

LETTER XLIX.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE European women are inconceivably vain: pride almoſt choaks them, ſo that they can ſcarce breathe; and it is the men who puff them up in this manner. How indeed can they be otherwiſe than haughty, when the other ſex is continually homaging them, and laying at their feet fortune and honours, titles and dignities? The ſcope of kings, in their turbulent efforts to be great, is to become mean with them: they may trample on ſceptres and crowns.

Though the Engliſh, in general, be not at leiſure for any continued gallantry, what little time they give to it they make the moſt of: the blind unreſerved ſubmiſſion they pay to the ſex, is downright ſervitude.

The other day I ſaw, in company, a Briton very lofty and ſupercilious in his carriage; but it ſeems he is ſervilely humble and pliant to a ſhrimp of a woman who has got an aſcendency over him; for, when the Engliſh become ſlaves to women, they are more ſo than any people I know. However it be, this creature uſes him like a negro, often confining him to his room for a fortnight; and then he muſt not offer to ſtir without having firſt obtained her leave: I verily believe that, were ſhe to command him to hang himſelf, he would immediately comply. This the Europeans call gallantry, or having a reſpect for the fair-ſex.

The more I compare our cuſtoms with thoſe of Europe, the more am I perſuaded, that our legiſlature, in preſcribing the recluſeneſs of women as a capital law, ſhewed themſelves better acquainted with the human heart, than thoſe of Europe: they have thereby prevented, as I have ſaid elſewhere, a multitude of diſorders and evils, with which all this part of the world is over-run.

LET-

LETTER L.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THOUGH the Jeſuits have been expelled France, the letters from Paris ſay, that the king has not yet been aſſaſſinated. The ſame advices add, that of all the members of the parliament, who baniſhed them out of the kingdom, there was no account, at the departure of the laſt courier, of ſo much as one having been poiſoned. Some people go ſo far as to flatter themſelves, that there will be no civil war, and that the nation will get rid of that hated ſociety without bloodſhed.

They who feared for the monarchy and the people, highly applaud this moderation; for when people, under a bad predicament, do not all the miſchief they can, it is accounted a kind of virtue.

This affair however has not totally paſſed over in ſilence, as appears from the following articles of complaint, which have been privately handed about.

" I. That

" I. That the expulſion of theſe men " out of the kingdom is a direct inſult to " the perſon of God, and a crime againſt " the prerogatives of Heaven.

" II. That, beſides being a breach of " the divine, it is no leſs a violation of " human laws, by which no body or " community is to be baniſhed, unleſs " manifeſtly convicted of very great " abuſes.

" III. That the terms of the act for " baniſhing the ſociety out of France, are " vague, general, void of all foundation, " and betray a clandeſtine and long-pre- " meditated revenge.

" IV. That it is violating the rights " of hoſpitality, which ſhould be ſacred " in behalf of thoſe who cauſe no diſor- " der in the general ſociety, of which " they are members.

" V. That no ſecular court has a right " to baniſh any eccleſiaſtical body, unleſs " for capital offences, and theſe averred " by all the members of that body.

" VI. That the pernicious maxims of " ſome of their members do not amount " to ſuch a treſpaſs, as to baniſh the whole " ſociety;

" ſociety; that in ſocieties faults are per-
" ſonal.

" VII. That the ſeizure of their poſſeſſions
" is a manifeſt robbery; that theſe poſ-
" ſeſſions belong neither to them nor the
" ſtate; that they are, in reality, only a
" truſt, or pledge, committed to their ſo-
" ciety, and the alienation of them is a
" flagrant injury both to the dead and the
" living, &c. &c."

I believe it is only in ſtates where certain bodies are allowed to aſſume too much power, that they dare talk at this rate. The ſocieties of bonzes in Europe are always for arrogating to themſelves privileges diſtinct from thoſe of the ſovereign; that is, they would be wholly independent of the ſtate or civil power.

LETTER LI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE duke, who, as plenipotentiary from France, ſigned the treaty between the two crowns, is ſet out for Verſailles; and his ſucceſſor is a young man, a captain of dragoons, with equal rank and the ſame titles. This is being made a plenipotentiary ſword in hand.

This military miniſter is, it ſeems, abrupt and choleric, and talks much of fighting. I ſuppoſe he places bravery above the negotiator's qualities. With ſuch a happy turn for being a ſoldier, thou mayeſt well conceive, he will not be very long a miniſter: his fall indeed is daily expected; but it is not ſo much his fault as that of his employers. I told you before, that France has no ſeminaries for miniſters. A mere novice, juſt entered on the world, ſhall frequently be made a plenipotentiary, or an ambaſſador.

LET-

LETTER LII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

A Perſon has been taken up here for publiſhing abuſe againſt the king, in a periodical paper called the North-Briton.

The offence was directly againſt the crown, affirming in print, that the ſovereign had told a lye to his people.

After committing him to a priſon called the Tower, the queſtion was, whether he could be detained there. The caſe undergoing ſeveral diſcuſſions, it appeared, or at leaſt it was ſo imagined, that the priſoner had not tranſgreſſed the limits of Engliſh freedom; and that his inſulting the ſovereign was intirely agreeable to the Britiſh conſtitution: for, in Europe, every government has its form, and this has a very conſiderable influence on the public ſentiments.

For inſtance, the Engliſh think the king lyes when he does not ſpeak truth; whereas in France, Spain, Portugal, and all

all the deſpotic ſtates, it is a received maxim, that the king ſpeaks truth even when he groſsly lyes.

As this pamphleteer could not be detained, he was diſcharged; but the firſt thing he did, after being his own man, was to write to the miniſters, that they were robbers, and threatened to have them taken up as ſuch.

This ſecond invective being likewiſe canvaſſed, it was found that he might literally make uſe of thoſe words, the miniſtry having, during his detention, ordered his houſe to be ſearched, and his papers brought away: now the law of England looks on thoſe who take, or who order a perſon's effects to be taken away, as robbers.

Theſe invectives of a ſubject againſt the king and his miniſters, will doubtleſs appear ſtrange to thee, and I am far from approving them; but there is more than one government in Europe, where ſuch things may not be ſo very much amiſs.

The perſon confined was a member of parliament; that is, a repreſentative of the body in which the ſovereign power is lodged. Now, could the miniſtry take up

up members of parliament, they would ſoon have the whole parliament in durance, and imitate Cromwell, who, turning them out one after another, ſhut the door and carried away the key with him.

LETTER LIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

MY Paris landlord, who is a very good ſort of a man, though ſomething of a politician, promiſed me, at my coming away, if any news worth our court's notice happened in that city, he would immediately acquaint me with it.

I had for ſome time given over all thoughts of his correſpondence, when yeſterday I received the following letter, with this ſuperſcription.

" To Mr. Cham-pi-pi, Director-General of
" the moral and political Reflections on
" the preſent State of Europe.

" SIR, Paris.

" Since our laſt treaty of peace with
" England, a multitude of bears, or ra-
" ther

" ther ſavages, are continually flocking
" hither.

" Theſe bears are not quadrupeds, like
" thoſe in the woods; they ſtand upright
" on their feet, have a body, arms, and
" hands, like reaſonable creatures, ſo that
" one would almoſt take them for men.

" Theſe ſavages are likewiſe clothed
" in the European manner, except the
" ſhape of their clothes being under the
" armpits, ſo that their coat looks pretty
" much like our prieſt's caſſoc.

" You have, to be ſure, taken notice,
" in your Political Reflections, that we
" Frenchmen have little ſlips of very fine
" linen, called ruffles, at the end of our
" ſhirt ſleeves; whereas theſe groteſque
" creatures, at the end of their arms, have
" nothing but their bare hands.

" I ſuppoſe, in the country of thoſe
" ſavages, a large head is looked upon as
" a token of eminent wiſdom; for they
" endeavour to make it appear out of
" ſize, by wearing bob-wigs of an en-
" ormous amplitude.

" They are very much given to ſtaring
" with their large dull eyes, and gape at
" us with ſuch a blockiſh aſtoniſhment,
" as if they had never ſeen men before.

" As

" As to their dialect, I can ſay nothing of " it. They hiſs indeed; but whether " they ſpeak, I know not. They who " converſe with them ſay, that they have " ſomething of an impediment in their " ſpeech, and are very much ſubject to " be dumb, being ſometimes round a " table four hours together, without " ſpeaking a ſingle word.

" Theſe ſame ſavages are exceſſively " fond of ſtrong beer, wine, and ſpiri- " tuous liquors; and ſmoak a great deal. " They are very quarrelſome and boiſte- " rous in their cups, and fall on one " another like dogs.

" They know little of the ſword or " ſabre: their offenſive and defenſive " arms are their nails; inſtead of killing " one another in their quarrels, like the " French, they only tear out one another's " eyes.

" Theſe animals always herd together, " ſeldom or never aſſociating with the " other beaſts of the country.

" The generality of them have no re- " liſh for good company: it is only looſe " women and opera doxies who can tame " them.

" However,

" However, they are very well received " here, and the more the better; for they " bring from their country little pieces of " gold, which the Pariſians are very fond " of. They make no long ſtay in this " city: the play-houſe wenches ſoon ſend " them packing to Montpellier by way " of a change of air, that of Paris affect- " ing their nerves, and almoſt taking from " them the uſe of their legs.

" Not to keep you any longer in ſuſ- " pence, theſe bears, or ſavages, are " Engliſhmen; but I forgot that you are " at London, and thus in the great me- " nagery of thoſe brutes. I am, &c."

Since my knowing France and England, I have often reflected on the natural antipathy between theſe two nations, who, beſides more ſenſible injuries, are continually ridiculing and expoſing one another in ſatyrical prints; and I really find this enmity ariſes from phyſical, moral, and political cauſes; and conſequently is now beyond remedy.

An Engliſhman is ſaturnine, a Frenchman ſprightly; one thinks much, a little reflection ſerves the other; the former has ſenſe, the latter wit. The goverment of England

England is republican, that of France monarchical; the Engliſhman thinks himſelf a freeman, the Frenchman imagines himſelf to be a ſlave; one makes but a ſmall people, the other conſtitutes a great nation. Rivalry in trade, arts and ſciences, &c. I omit, the premiſes being fully enough to perpetuate a mutual contempt and animoſity.

LETTER LIV.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

THE people, among whom I at preſent live, are intolerably lofty and proud, though what they have to be proud of I cannot for my life perceive.

In all Europe there are not ſuch ugly men as the Spaniards; their natural complexion does not differ half a degree fror that of the African Moors. As to thoſe noble ſciences which diſtinguiſh other Chriſtian nations, their ignorance is amazing; and little do they know of any thing at all. The poverty of the Spaniards

Spaniards is indigence itſelf; the generality of them are ſtarving: their frugality is a conſequence of the climate, or rather of their idleneſs; and ſtill they want common neceſſaries.

All the ſeveral branches of political and civil power are in a total diſorder; not one part of the adminiſtration is rightly managed. The national equilibrium is loſt: in ſtrength it is not in the leaſt proportional to any other ſtate; ſo that the very weakeſt in Europe might make an eaſy conqueſt of it.

The prince being abſolutely deſpotic, the people of courſe are ſlaves, and not only to the king, but to the clergy: on one hand, policy keeps them down; and on the other, religion depreſſes them. A nation muſt have a prodigious ſtock of natural haughtineſs, to be thus proud amidſt ſo many circumſtances of wretchedneſs and ignominy.

LETTER LV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE ambition of petty princes is come too late. The great potentates of Europe are eſtabliſhed irreverſibly: their power is of ſuch antiquity, that it is grown into preſcription: there is no annulling it. They may be withſtood for ſome years, and victories gained againſt them; but that is all that can be done. They inſenſibly recover, and, in the end, the ſuperior will always prove too hard for an inferior force.

France, to be ſure, has ſuffered greatly in this war; but ſtill it remains a vaſt body: the houſe of Auſtria has likewiſe received ſeveral checks; but this has not at all diminiſhed its former ſtrength, which is ſtill greater than that of its enemy, with all his recent advantages over it. A few years of repoſe will reſtore theſe bodies to their priſtine vigour. They may be out of breath, but there is no deſtroying them.

George and Frederic make a great noiſe about their victories. Far be it from me to offer to detract from their glory; yet it is certain they owe it to the lethargy of the two above-mentioned powers, who would have cruſhed them with the bare weight of their greatneſs, had not a weak adminiſtration impeded the exertion of their ſtrength.

To glory in thoſe exploits is like boaſting of having beaten two ſick men.

Though a Chineſe, I tremble for theſe two little ſtates, when I conſider that the leaſt new diſpoſition in ſecond cauſes may change the whole face of their fortune; and two diminutive mortals, a few feet high, may overthrow the ſyſtem of their greatneſs.

Let but an able miniſter ariſe in France, and England ſinks into its original inſignificancy: one great genius in the council of Vienna, and there's an end of Pruſſia.

It is ſaid, that if a man, called Maurice, had not died before the war, matters would have turned out quite otherwiſe for France. Politicians even go farther, and tell you that, had he been living, Frederic would never have dared

to invade Saxony. Here the revolutions of ſtates generally depend on the exiſtence of one ſingle man.

The calculation is clear, and not to be overthrown by any cloſet-combinations: it may be proved, by the rule of numbers, in matter of power the chief geometrical demonſtration, that twenty-five millions of able-bodied men are ſuperior to ten millions.

England, it is ſaid, is under a good adminiſtration; but France need only mend hers. The land of Britain is very fertile; let France only increaſe its tillage. And as for Great-Britain's numerous navy, France need only form one to be a match for it.

Theſe different adminiſtrations are ſo far from being a ſtate-ſecret, that their notoriety lays them open to all nations. France may practiſe them as well as England, and perhaps even to greater advantage, having more reſources: the ſame reaſoning holds good for the houſe of Auſtria.

LETTER LVI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THERE is, as it were, a ſeed of diviſion in the Engliſh nation, which ever obſtructs public tranquillity.

England, after making a peace with France, is fallen out with itſelf. The great men are reſigning their poſts, leave the court, and withdraw to their ſeats. The commonalty likewiſe complain loudly All theſe heart-burnings proceed from his preſent Majeſty's having choſen to himſelf a miniſter, whom he has determined to maintain in his poſt. The rub is not ſo much at the miniſter's promotion, but rather that the king, by his own choice, promoted him; which, here, is looked on as an infringement on public liberty.

The point is to know, whether the king of England has a right to be as independent as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. Some affirm that, by the conſtitution of Great-Britain,

Britain, for the people to be free, the king muſt be a ſlave.

The reaſon the Engliſh give is, that ſuch was the model of the conſtitution, when they made the tender of the crown to a foreign prince; and that he might either take or leave it.

The Europeans have a ſaying, that compacts make laws, and laws make kings; and George the IIId for his part ſays, that he will not be the chief ſlave in his kingdom, that ſlavery was not made for ſovereigns, that he inſiſts on having equal rights with his ſubjects.

The deciſion of this queſtion does not belong to me: however, it may in general be ſaid, that the power of kings, ruling over independent nations, cannot be too much limited.

The conſtitution's being free ſignifies nothing: on giving up the leaſt of its privileges, the monarchical prerogative will ſoon come to eſtabliſh itſelf beyond repeal.

Deſpotiſm is a ſmooth file, imperceptibly preying on the chains of freedom. A people receding from its rights, at the long-run, is quite ſtunned at finding itſelf

a ſlave, amidſt ſo many means of making itſelf otherwiſe.

LETTER LVII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

YESTERDAY the Engliſh parliament met for the firſt time this year. It opened with a weighty affair, on which all the repreſentatives of the nation were to deliberate. This was neither peace nor war, nor how to eaſe the people from the afflictive load of taxes. A more profound and important article of politics was brought on the carpet, in two propoſitions: I. Whether the perſon, who adviſed the king to make the laſt peace, ſhould not be called to account. II. Whether the ſovereign was at liberty to chuſe whom he pleaſed, to conſult with on the means of making his people happy.

The debate was very long; theſe two queſtions, as no doubt thou ſeeſt, being very intricate and perplexing, ſo that it was late at night before the members gave over ſpeaking.

It

It would have ſurpriſed thee to ſee the artifices and turns of wit, made uſe of by the ſpeakers, to prove that they were right in a point in which they themſelves were convinced that they were not ſo.

Some ſittings after, a ſenator, noted for a fine flow of words and an emphatic elocution, but to whom a long and troubleſome adminiſtration has left only the gout and the uſe of ſpeech, harangued the houſe four hours without intermiſſion, and without ſettling any one point.

It were to be wiſhed, that the reſigners were dumb, as a proof that they are quite eaſy about their diſmiſſion; otherwiſe, they may be thought to have no leſs ambition in their retreat, than when in the poſt which they prudently reſigned, knowing they were to hold it no longer.

LETTER LVIII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

THE Spaniſh ſtage is a tranſcript of the nation, even in its gravity; its moſt comical pieces are taken from the articles of faith. It is not vices or foibles that are expoſed here; religion itſelf is exhibited, and their moſt awful myſteries are perſonated by vagrants.

I have ſeen Chriſt crucified theatrically, and his dying for the ſins of men made a farce of. A buffoon acts the part of Jeſus, and a paultry merry-andrew that of the Eternal Father.

Sometimes legions of angels make their appearance; but theſe angels, being Spaniards, are ſo ſwarthy, that one would rather take them for devils.

Beſides angels, archangels, and cherubims, they have alſo theatrical ſaints, the chief qualification of whom is a droll phiz. I ſaw there a St. Anthony, who being hired to make people laugh, can hardly be imagined

gined to have ſpent his life in faſting, prayers, and mortification.

The St. Peter of this theatre is a jovial blade, who ſpends moſt of his leiſure time in the tavern; and I was told, that one evening, when the whole celeſtial hierarchy were to appear on the ſtage, towards the cloſe of the drama, he had left the keys of heaven at a tippling-houſe; ſo that all was at a ſtand, God and the ſaints being ſhut up in paradiſe, from whence they could not get out. Amidſt the reflections which crowd on me every where, I ſhall only mention one: a people thus blending things ſacred and prophane, and making a farce of religion, in ſo doing deprives itſelf of the only means it had to become virtuous.

LETTER LIX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE following piece is no great matter; and I don't know whether I ſhould have ſent it thee, were it not for thy curioſity in every thing which relates to the character of this nation. The Baronet put it into my hands, and, by its prolixity, I ſhould take it to be his; for he writes a deal more than he ſpeaks.

" Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of the Engliſh
" Stage.

" A celebrated European author ſays,
" that when men came to be united in
" ſocieties, they forgot their weakneſs,
" and fell to making war: another thinks,
" that battles are as ancient as the world
" itſelf. As to the wars of the Engliſh
" theatre, they unqueſtionably may be
" dated from the very firſt formation of
" the theatre.

" Since

" Since king William's time, a great " number of pitched battles have been " fought on this ſtage, beſides private " encounters. The firſt I ſhall make men- " tion of, in theſe hiſtorical memoirs, was " towards the end of queen Anne's reign. " The ſignals of the battle were two " boxes of the ear given on the ſtage, " one received by a player who was living " not long ſince, and the other given by " that actor to a gentleman, who paid the " debt of nature a long time ago. This " quarrel firſt aroſe from ſo ſmall a matter, " that two European princes would ſcarce " have thought it worth while to go to " war about it.

" Such of the gentleman's friends and " acquaintance, who were that night at " the play, immediately flew to the ſtage, " where the firſt hoſtilities had begun; " and here drew up, ſword in hand. The " players party, as the weakeſt, conclud- " ing that it would be impoſſible to main- " tain the ſtage, left the field of battle to " the enemy. Now the ſtorm of war " began to rage in its utmoſt fury; the " ſcenes, boxes, and ſeats, immediately " went to ruin; the whole theatre was to " have followed, and, perhaps, the houſe

" itſelf

" itſelf had been ſet on fire, when a band " of watchmen, led by a player, came " on the ſtage, and laying hold of the " rioters, carried them before a juſtice of " peace, where an amicable treaty was " ſigned. Thus was this threatening war " happily concluded, almoſt as ſoon as " it began.

" All the other broils, probably, would " have had the like happy end; but the " miſchief was, that theatrical Whigs and " Tories ſprung up, and the watchmen " liſted on both ſides: farther, the very " juſtices of peace took part in the com- " motions. Then each party proceeding " to a formal declaration of war, and " breathing nothing but ruin and ſlaugh- " ter, all pacific overtures became im- " practicable.

" The war which broke out at the Lit- " tle theatre at the Hay-market, in the " reign of George II. was ſtill more fu- " rious, and ſeveral pitched battles fought " with the greateſt obſtinacy. The cauſe " of this ſecond war was the govern- " ment's licenſing a company of French " players, when ſeveral national theatres " had been prohibited. Theſe foreign " vagrants had put at the head of their

" bills,

" bills, in large characters, By His Ma-
" jeſty's Permiſſion and Authority: this
" was enough to ſet an Engliſh populace
" in a flame, and it was reſolved to hinder
" them from acting. However inſigni-
" ficant this diſturbance may appear at
" firſt ſight, it turned on a point of high
" importance, nothing leſs than whether
" the king's authority was ſomething, or
" nothing.

" The negotiations for ſettling this af-
" fair having failed, each party publiſhed
" its manifeſto, and notice was given of
" the day of battle in the public papers.
" Several foreign miniſters were at the
" houſe very early, to ſee who got the
" better, the king or the people; and
" this was, perhaps, the firſt time that
" ever embaſſadors were ſeen at a battle.

" The government had directed two
" juſtices of the peace to be in the pit,
" and there avail themſelves of a ſhort
" interval to bring the people to ſign a
" capitulation. One of them, before the
" piece began, made ſeveral motions for a
" ſuſpenſion of arms, firſt ſoothing, then
" threatening; and at length, raiſing his
" voice, he declared, that he was come
" there, as a magiſtrate, to ſupport the

" king's

" king's authority; that his Majeſty " would have the play acted; that, " for this purpoſe, he had with him a " company of guards, and that the firſt " who offered to oppoſe the acting ſhould " be laid hold of.

" This ſpeech produced no good effect: " the audience anſwered, that neither the " laws nor the king had any power over " them, to hinder the applauding or " damning both play and actors. The " affair began about ſix in the evening, " and the ſignal of battle was given by " a whiſtle inſtead of a cannon. The " curtain being drawn up, the actors " made their appearance between two " files of ſoldiers, with their bayonets " fixed to the muzzle of their pieces. At " this the company, who were not come " to fight againſt bayonets, aſked the " juſtices of peace, by whoſe order the " guards were poſted there? Whether " the Engliſh, inſtead of being freemen, " were ſo far to be controuled, as to have " ſoldiers to awe them in their diverſions? " Theſe queſtions being too delicate for " an immediate anſwer, the juſtices ſaid " they knew nothing of the ſoldiers being " on the ſtage, and deſired the ſerjeant " to take them off. " Now

" Now a frightful din began in the pit;
" particularly ſome mouth inſtruments,
" brought for the purpoſe, made ſuch
" a horrid noiſe, that certainly, if hell had
" concerts, there could not be a more
" diabolical muſic. The actors made
" off quite ſcared, and ſome groteſque
" dancers, hoping by their droll appea-
" rance to ſuſpend the tumult, met with
" no better reception.

" At theſe boiſterous proceedings one
" of the juſtices, waving his hand to
" the audience, deſired they would for-
" bear a while, and hear him: he then
" formally declared, that if they did not
" deſiſt from ſuch rioting, and behave
" with decency, he would read the king's
" proclamation againſt mobs, and his li-
" cence to the houſe, and, in caſe a due
" regard was not paid to his authority, he
" would immediately go to St. James's,
" and acquaint his Majeſty with the ſe-
" dition.

" The houſe, inſtead of being intimi-
" dated by this menace, bawled out, No
" agreement, no capitulation. It might
" eaſily be foreſeen which party would
" get the better; for, as it depended on

" making

" making the moſt noiſe, and the oppo-
" ſite party conſiſting of coachmen and
" chairmen, their vociferations would na-
" turally drown the ſqueaks of the feeble
" courtiers. The players endeavoured
" ſeveral times to perform, but the pit as
" often renewed their outrages: their
" obſtinacy increaſing rather than abating,
" the curtain was dropped, and thus the
" people remained maſters of the field.

" Some years after, a freſh war was
" kindled by other comedians of the ſame
" nation, protected by the government,
" and on that very account hated by the
" people. In England, as in other Eu-
" ropean ſtates, popular commotions
" would ſoon ſubſide, were they not up-
" held by the great: ſeveral lords en-
" gaged in this third war, with much
" animoſity on both ſides, and a day of
" battle was again denounced.

" My Lord Tren—am commanded the
" king's troops, and Sir Ge. V——te
" thoſe of the people. Theſe ſecond
" actors met with the ſame rough treat-
" ment as the former: at their ap-
" pearance the houſe rung with hiſſes and
" frightful ſquallings, accompanied with

" a deluge

" a deluge of oranges, ſtones, and even " knives, which immediately diſperſed " the actors. The play deſigned for that " night was, The Uneaſineſs of Riches; " but that really acted might be called, " The Uneaſineſs of the Pit.

" Whilſt the two main bodies were en- " gaged, and the generals of both par- " ties animated their troops with an in- " trepidity ſuitable to the great occaſion, " ſmaller parties were kicking and cuffing " one another in the galleries and paſſages. " Whether the Royaliſts had improved " themſelves in this way of fighting ſince " the laſt action, or the people's uſual " ſpirit failed them, from a conſciouſneſs " of the badneſs of their cauſe, the actors " went through the play, and thus re- " trieved their former defeat. The action " was rather terrible than bloody: both " armies, having forgot their ſwords, plied " one another only with ſticks; ſo that " there was none killed, and the da- " mage conſiſted in about five or ſix " broken heads, with half a dozen wigs " burnt.

" Moſt great events originally ſpring " from trifling cauſes: ſo this war, which " again ſet the populace and royalty at " odds,

" odds, was owing to a French adven-
" turer, a deſcendant of one of the moſt
" ancient baſe families in France, his an-
" ceſtors having worn the livery, hereditа-
" rily from father to ſon, ever ſince the de-
" luge, and he himſelf had worn it at Paris.
" In the want of a fortune of his own,
" he endeavoured to raiſe one at the ex-
" pence of every body whom he thought
" fit for his purpoſe: he was thoroughly
" verſed in the qualifications neceſſary
" to make his way; he had been trained
" up to Mercury's trade, and by his dex-
" terity ſeveral ſhow-glaſſes were miſſing:
" afterwards he contrived three infamous
" bankruptcies. Never was man poſſeſſed
" in a higher degree of the endowments
" which form great adventurers: he
" was full of lies, daring, inventive, and
" of a moſt brazen effrontery. Lord
" Stafford having told him at Paris, that
" a French play-houſe would anſwer at
" London, he picked up ſome paltry
" ſtrollers, who were out of buſineſs, and
" came over to London, where he talked
" as big as if he had brought with him
" the flower of the hôtel de Bourgogne.
" On the miſcarriage of his theatre, his
" ſtrollers arreſted him; yet, ſo far from
" being

" being diſheartened, he found means, in " his obſcure priſon, to lay White's Cho- " colate-houſe under contribution of ſeven " or eight hundred pounds ſterling, and " thus returned to France in a better con- " dition than ever.

" The fourth war of the Engliſh thea- " tre is rather a matter of laughter than " of grief or deteſtation. The Britons " are naturally fond of any thing out of " the way; they will hardly caſt an eye " on what is ſimple and natural: it muſt " be ſtriking images which engage their " attention. A perſon, to ſuit their taſte, " advertiſed, that ſuch a day would be ex- " hibited, at the new theatre in the Hay- " market, a thing which paſt ages had " never ſeen, and which ages to come " would never ſee: a Harlequin of the " ſize and bigneſs of a common man " would put himſelf into a pint bottle. " This was giving the nation a ſhow in- " tirely in its taſte: for what can be more " wonderful, than to ſee a man go into " a bottle, where a boy could ſcarce thruſt " in one of his fingers!

" This aſtoniſhing prodigy afforded " matter of talk to all the *literati*. The

" Royal

" Royal Society of London formally in-
" veſtigated the cauſe of this ſuper-
" natural infuſion: all longed for the
" day mentioned in the bill, that they
" might be ocular witneſſes to ſuch a phe-
" nomenon. The houſe was full by three
" o'clock, and never had it ſeen ſuch an
" audience: princes, lords, and perſons
" of all ranks were there, particularly
" chemiſts, as impatient to ſee the man-
" ner of harlequin's inconceivable diſtil-
" lation. The miniſters of ſtate, and po-
" liticians, had been the firſt to take places.
" Such an experiment, indeed, might be
" of uſe to the ſtate, eſpecially, in war
" time, for the embarkation of ſoldiers;
" ſince, if an Harlequin could get into a
" pint bottle, ſo might a ſoldier; as to the
" horſe-guards, the bottles muſt be a little
" bigger: now this would have been a
" great ſaving in tranſports and ſhips of
" war.

" This experiment concerned every
" claſs in ſociety. Cowards, who, ac-
" cording to the common ſaying, can creep
" into the eye of a needle, on ſeeing
" their enemy, would immediately have
" hid themſelves in a bottle; the ſame
" may be ſaid of lovers, whom ſometimes

" it

" it behoves to be inviſible, or to take up " but little room; the ſame alſo of debtors, " and theſe make a large number in Lon- " don; for, at the very firſt ſight of a bailiff, " they would immediately have dived into " their bottle.

" By the bill, this performance of Harle- " quin was to be at ſix; but it had ſtruck " ſeven, and no appearance of him. At " firſt it was apprehended, that having eat " nothing for a week, to make himſelf the " thinner, he might have fainted away, " and, on his recovery, he would come " and perform according to expectation. " After waiting ſome time longer, the " company grew impatient, and call- " ed out to know why Harlequin did not " appear. They were then informed, that " Harlequin, inſtead of jumping into a " bottle, had made off with the money " at the door, and might now be ſwallow- " ing bottles.

" Here the audience, not reflecting on " their ſtupidity in giving credit to ſuch an " impoſſibility, vented their reſentment on " the theatre, demoliſhing every part of it.

" The laſt battle which I ſhall mention, " relates to the emperor of China, though " fought at London, in Drury-Lane play-

" houſe.

" houſe. About ſixty ſubjects of that
" great prince were come from Pekin to
" entertain the Engliſh with a Chineſe in-
" terlude; but, courtly as their intentions
" were, and though their ſcheme did ho-
" nour to the nation, they were inſulted
" by the populace. But laying aſide
" figures, and ſpeaking in the plainneſs of
" a faithful hiſtorian, it was the misfor-
" tune of moſt of theſe Chineſe to be
" French

" A Chineſe interlude was the cauſe of
" this war: the politicians attributed it to
" the variances which then prevailed be-
" tween the two nations; but it aroſe, in
" reality, from the inveterate animoſities
" between the two Engliſh theatres of
" Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden.

" The bills promiſed to the public a
" ſpectacle intirely new, in the figure of
" the dances, the richneſs of the dreſſes,
" the magnificence of the decorations,
" and the number of actors, and thus
" bid fair to put five or ſix thouſand
" pounds in the managers pockets. Had
" this taken place at Drury-Lane, there
" would have been an end of Covent-
" Garden; which put the former on leav-
" ing

" ing no ſtone unturned to overſet this " novelty.

" The Engliſh ſtage is, in ſome reſpects, " an image of the European courts. " When two princes are on the point of a " rupture, and intend to come to a war, " their embaſſadors are directed to propa- " gate malignant reports, which ſpread the " ſeeds of diſcord and confuſion among the " people.

" The Covent-Garden cabal gave orders " to its emiſſaries, the public papers, to " publiſh diſadvantageous reports about " the interlude, that the people might be " prejudiced againſt it: the chief heads of " accuſation againſt this Aſiatic entertain- " ment were, the performers being Eu- " ropeans, and natural enemies to Britain, " the dreſſes being all of French ſtuffs, " and the very taylors who made them up " likewiſe French.

" The enemies of the novelty waited " two or three nights to ſee the event of " it; for, had it miſcarried, there would " have been no war; but it took, and " now no peace was to be expected. " Though the opponents were drawn up " in the pit and galleries, at the firſt re- " preſentations, they only handled their

" cat-

" cat calls; but the king honouring the " interlude with his preſence, and liking " it, the Antigallicans loſt all patience, and " proceeded to the moſt violent hoſtili- " ties, ſo that a deciſive battle enſued.

" Several young lords had, from the " very firſt, taken part in this war on op- " poſite ſides; the Jacobites held with " the Chineſe, and the Republicans joined " the Antigallicans. The Chineſe army " was very much inferior in number to " the Republican, till ſome of the chiefs " among the former brought things pret- " ty well to a balance, by enliſting be- " tween two and three hundred Iriſh " chairmen, than whom, when animated " with beer and gin, Europe does not " afford better ſoldiers.

" The ſixth time of acting being fixed " for a general engagement, the Common- " wealths-men reſorted to the theatre, with " a reſolution of doing for the ſham Aſi- " atics. The dancers had no ſooner begun " their geſticulations, than the Antigalli- " cans, with the moſt intrepid fury, com- " menced hoſtilities againſt the houſe, tear- " ing up the benches, and breaking down " the partitions of their boxes; ſo that every " part of the theatre felt their irreſiſtible " fury;

" fury; you would have taken them for ſo
" many carpenters: though I can hardly
" ſuppoſe that the Engliſh nobility, (for it
" was the young lords who cleared their
" way the quickeſt) ſerve an apprentice-
" ſhip to this trade; yet there are no
" better hands in the univerſe for demo-
" liſhing a piece of building: half a do-
" zen of them lay all ſmack ſmooth in the
" twinkling of an eye. What paſſed in
" the houſe was but inconſiderable, the
" grand ſcene of action being at one of
" the doors; and here I could wiſh for a
" pictureſque genius to give an adequate
" deſcription of this day, or rather even-
" ing, when the contending armies ac-
" quired ſo much glory.

" A body of Antigallicans charged a
" party of Chineſe; and the action was ſo
" warm, that within a few minutes no leſs
" than two hundred ſtrokes were given
" with canes, and returned by as many
" blows with the fiſt. Each army was
" headed by young lords, who ſignalized
" themſelves greatly on this occaſion.
" The general action laſted above an
" hour; but every combatant being eager
" for acquiring perſonal glory, both
" armies broke into platoons. Then it

" was that true bravery diſplayed itſelf,
" and the vigour of every hero could be
" noticed. Numberleſs were the atchieve-
" ments performed on this memorable oc-
" caſion.

" Am—, an officer in the Republican
" army, ſtruck a Jacobite lord ſuch a blow
" with his fiſt, as laid his flimſey body
" ſprawling on the ground. The intre-
" pid lord S—— engaged a gigantic Iriſh
" chairman, and gave him a fall. Sir
" George, who ſided with the Chineſe in-
" terlude, run his head in the breaſt of an
" Antigallican gentleman with ſuch fury,
" as made him caſt up a great deal of
" blood. L—, with his cane, demoliſhed
" the left eye of an eminent citizen, who
" was roaring, *No Chineſe ballets.* M—
" tripped up a merchant, who was joining
" in the like cry, and tumbled him flat on
" his back. P— flew at an Antigallican,
" and bit off half of one of his cheeks.
" B— gave a templar, who was very ac-
" tive on the Chineſe ſide, ſuch a rap on
" the noſe, as ſet him a ſneezing ſix times
" without taking any ſnuff. G—, a cour-
" tier, daſhed out ſix of a Republican offi-
" cer's teeth. There would be no end of
" relating the heroic feats performed on
" both

" both ſides in this important fray; but " the Antigallicans, by dint of num- " bers, gained a complete victory, rout- " ing and diſperſing the Chineſe.

" In the mean time, fame, which de- " lights in publiſhing great events, had " ſpread the report of this conflict " throughout the city. The coachmen " and chairmen's wives concluding, from " the known ſpirit of their huſbands, that " they were concerned in this carnage, " ran to the field of battle, in order to " bury them, if they found them dead, " or, if only wounded, to carry them to " the hoſpital. Some being known were " removed; others being miſſing, their " wives went away, not a little vexed " that they did not ſtand in need of their " laſt kind offices.

" The proſtitutes which ſwarm in the " precincts of Drury-Lane, were carried " by curioſity to the ſcene of this terrible " action. Polly H—, though at ſupper " with company at Maltby's bagnio, in " Covent-garden, haſtened to the ſame " place: little expecting to find among " the wounded her dear footman, ſhe " looked for ſome time at him, and when " there could no longer be any doubt but

" it was he, ſhe ſaid to him in piteous " accents, *What's the matter* * * * * * " * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *.

" After the victory the Antigallican " party held a council of war, in which " it was determined immediately to lay " ſiege to Garrick's houſe in Southamp- " ton-Street. In an inſtant the windows " were all ſmaſhed with ſhowers of ſtones; " and if the walls were left ſtanding, it " was becauſe the victorious army wanted " artillery and miners. Hiſtory is ſilent " as to the place where this illuſtrious " undertaker was at the time of this ex- " igency. A private anecdote indeed " ſays, that the great Richard had ſmug- " gled himſelf into a bottle.

" Though the Republican party had " gained an abſolute victory, that of the " Chineſe was neither ſo diſheartened, " nor diſtreſſed, as not to put itſelf in a " poſture for renewing the war. But by " the kind mediation of ſome neutral " powers, conferences were ſet on foot, " and in a few days the capitulation was " ſigned on the following conditions.

" I. That the Chineſe ballet ſhould be " totally dropped.

" II. That

" II. That the Drury-Lane manager " ſhould aſk the Antigallicans pardon.

" This was accordingly performed, and " the Chineſe ſet out for China, or where- " ever they would: ſome nights after, " the lordly Garrick came on the ſtage, " as a ſupplicant, excuſing himſelf for " the great injury he had done the public " in preparing a magnificent ſpectacle for " them, and thanked them for the trouble " they had given themſelves in breaking " his windows.

" A Spaniſh player would have died a " thouſand deaths, or quitted the ſtage, " rather than have truckled in ſuch a " manner; but in England there is " a gold coin, called a guinea, which " has the virtue of the river Lethe, ex- " tinguiſhing all remembrance, and con- " ſequently all reſentment of injuries, and " eaſing the mind under the very worſt " treatment. Then this actor takes ſuch " delight in his calling, and is ſo very " fond of management, that had he fallen " a victim to popular rage, his ghoſt " would come from the other world, and " put in to be a manager again.

LETTER LX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THE Europeans are ſo ſprightly, that they blend mirth with the moſt ſerious concerns; I mean war. The Chriſtian princes keep bands of martial muſic in their troops, and theſe perform whilſt the armies are butchering one another: this is being merry in the midſt of death.

This funeral-concert conſiſts of trumpets, kettle-drums, hautboys, fifes, drums, &c. Formerly the violin was uſed, but ſince the invention of cannon, it has been thought to jar.

This military ſymphony is not every where the ſame; varying according to the taſte and temper of nations.

For inſtance, that which leads the Germans to death is grave, the Engliſh melancholy, the Pruſſian lofty, the Italian ludicrous, the French lively.

The times likewiſe vary according to the different ways of killing. There is one

one time for the action, and another for the retreat, &c. From what general obſervations I have made, I find that two armies march up to each other *Piano*, begin the action *Patitiquo*, continue it *Andante*, follow it *grave*, *ma non troppo*, cloſe in *Fouga*, give over *Allegro*, and retreat *Preſto*, and ſometimes *Preſtiſſimo*.

When I return to Pekin, I will bring thee a complete ſet of this fatal ſymphony, which may not improperly be called the concert of the dead.

I have mentioned this in a former letter, about my morning's walk in St. James's Park, where King George's guards parade; and this muſic puts the ſoldiers into ſuch a merry cue, that they go to their poſts dancing.

LETTER LXI.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

I Was lately at a very diverting ſight, which the Spaniſh nation highly delight in, and, if I miſtake not, peculiar

to them. This is what is called, at Madrid, a bull-feaſt, men fighting againſt thoſe beaſts. A large ſpace of ground is incloſed with ſeats; and this bull-fight is attended with more ceremony than a declaration of war againſt France or England, or any other formidable power.

The royal family are preſent in all the ſplendour of regality, and the grandees and nobility have ſeats appointed for their ſeveral ranks.

The firſt beaſt, whoſe death is to begin the diverſion, cannot be killed without an order from the king, which is ſignified by a motion of his hand, and then his throat is cut.

The butchers who kill the bulls at this ſpectacle are cavaliers of diſtinction. The plunging a pointed piece of iron into many of theſe beaſts is accounted an act of heroiſm; yet ſo little bravery is there in it, that the moſt faint-hearted Chineſe, who was uſed to this ſport, would make as good a hero as any of them.

They practiſe this butchery a long time before-hand, never offering themſelves as candidates for the glory of ſlaughtering bulls, till they are ſure of acquitting themſelves

ſelves with diſtinction. On the piercing of a bull, the air rings with repeated ſhouts, as if from the death of that animal ſome eminent benefit accrued to the nation.

Many learned men have with laborious application endeavoured to find out, whether theſe fights were introduced by the Moors, or the Romans; but, for my part, I think it ſcarce worth while; and the origin of ſuch a barbarous cuſtom may as well lie hidden as be known.

LETTER LXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

AN event of antient times has been the wonder of the univerſe. Two men, one called Alexander, the other Cæſar, conquered the world: this was what poſterity could not conceive; but the preſent war has cleared up the myſtery. Two petty princes, with dominions not larger than two middling provinces of China, keep all the powers of Europe in

awe. If ſuch revolutions are ſeen in an age, when ſo many ſecond cauſes concur to oppoſe any augmentation of domain, what muſt it have been at a time when the ſpirit of deſpotiſm was in its original vigour! The preſent tranſactions in the Chriſtian world may ſerve to interpret all the dreams of antiquity: people begin to believe that every thing has been poſſible.

This diſcovery has thrown Europe into a panic, as two or three enterprizing ſovereigns may over-run this part of the world. In my ſurvey of the ſtate of things among the Chriſtian powers, there appears to me a fault in the modern ſyſtem: a barrier is wanting in the general republic, againſt particular invaſions. Chriſtian powers, at their congreſſes for concluding a war, lay down ſchemes for reſtraining any ambitious purſuits: it would be much better to concert meaſures for preventing them.

A martial prince comes into the world in a corner of Europe; a thirſt of rule betrays itſelf in his early years: he meditates diſturbances at an age when others ſcarce know any thing of deſires. War takes up all his thoughts: he diſciplines his troops himſelf, trains them up by a new

new plan of his own, and exerciſes them with mock battles, till he has the pleaſure of trying them in earneſt. His whole government inſenſibly becomes military, and inſtead of citizens every ſubject is made a ſoldier.

At this juncture it happens ſome puiſſant monarchs, with large dominions, have no turn for war: the very thought of it frightens them, as preſenting to their fancy, toils, hardſhips, and dangers, dreadful things to their ſoftneſs and luxury. Theſe mighty ſovereigns have troops in abundance, but no ſoldiers: now what a great advantage has ſuch a prince over theſe!

Again, a ſmall monarchical republic becomes powerful, completes its navy, and turns all its thoughts to trade and maritime ſuperiority. Its ſenate conſiſts of perſons who underſtand the nation's intereſt, and are continually buſied about it. Its numerous ports are full of mariners; the ſea is covered with its ſhips; its flag commands reſpect in all parts; the univerſal commerce is under its controul; its funds of wealth are infinite.

Whilſt this republic is thus increaſing a force which in ſome meaſure gives law

to Europe, other ſtates, with the like, and even with greater advantages, take a road quite oppoſite to that which leads to naval power: their attention waſtes itſelf on other objects. The ſtate ſwarms with artificers, inſtead of abounding with ſailors; and the conſequence of this is an increaſe of luxury: ſoftneſs and indolence ſpread, till the infection becomes general. Europe, in the mean time, is without any counterpoiſe to the force of theſe two powers, which, one as miſtreſs of the ſea, and the other of the continent, rule the Chriſtian world.

The politicians of Europe are at a gaze; they cannot expreſs their aſtoniſhment at the preſent tranſactions; but this revolution has a very natural cauſe. Now ſuch is the hiſtory of the Greeks and Romans: this is a key which decyphers the lives of Alexander and Cæſar.

Numerous as foundations are in the Chriſtian world, one is ſtill wanting: I mean a ſociety of twenty political geometricians, who ſhould be continually meaſuring the degree of ſtrength in each particular ſtate, and report it to the univerſal republic, that by curtailing the power of one,

one, and adding to that of another, Europe might every where be duly ballaſted.

LETTER LXIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

INFORM me, ſaid the Baronet lately to me, how it is that ſuch a particular ſubordination is obſerved in all Chineſe families; for, according to travellers, there is a moſt admirable harmony and dependence in every houſe. As for us, continued he, with all our laws and regulations, domeſtic matters are growing worſe and worſe.

I readily believe it, anſwered I; for you do nothing to mend them: all your inſtitutions relate to the national family, without minding the leſſer. We Chineſe have a collection of houſhold maxims, which are tranſmitted from generation to generation. The maſters of families, having them by heart, take care that they be duly obſerved by their dependents. Theſe maxims being but few, the obſervance of them is the eaſier; and

that

that they are ſufficient is manifeſt from the order and harmony, which the practice of them has kept up in our families for ſo many ages, without any other inſtructions.

" Domeſtic Maxims for the Regulation " of Chineſe Families.

" The youth of the two ſexes are never " to be together.

" A ſiſter-in-law is not to converſe with " her brother in-law.

" When a girl goes a viſiting to a re- " lation, ſhe is not to ſit at the ſame table " as her brothers.

" A ſon is not to puniſh the ſervants " or ſlaves of the houſe. On their com- " mitting a fault he is to acquaint his fa- " ther of it, as to him only belongs the " power of correction.

" The daughters likewiſe are not to " chaſtiſe the maids, or even concubines, " for any indecent behaviour or talk; " that is the head of the family's province.

" If the maſter be too harſh, the do- " meſtics will ſerve him with reluctance; " there is but one way to win their affec- " tion, and, at the ſame time, make one's ſelf

" ſelf reſpected by them; which is, to
" temper auſterity with mildneſs.

" Of all family duties the moſt eſſential
" is education: when young folks enter
" on learning, their memories ſhould not
" be burthened with long precepts about
" the method of living in the world;
" only put into their hands the beſt books
" on that ſubject: the firſt thing to be
" taught them, is modeſty; the ſecond,
" a decent plainneſs in dreſs; and the
" third, frugality at their table.

" Allow them no manner of inter-
" courſe with boys who have been badly
" educated, and are inclined to evil
" courſes

" When their memory comes to ripen,
" be careful to inſtruct them gradually in
" the ſeveral duties of ſociety; and
" that your leſſons may make the bet-
" ter impreſſion, be ſure to uſe plain and
" familiar compariſons.

" If the women are ſeldom together,
" families will be the more quiet, and
" agree better: what is ſaid in their apart-
" ment muſt not go any further.

" The girls ſhould be educated quite
" differently from boys: let theſe cloſely
" ſtudy the works of the antients and
" moderns,

" moderns, to qualify themſelves for pub-
" lic ſtations: the great article in a girl's
" education is, to ground her in an uni-
" form practice of chaſtity, modeſty,
" obedience, cleanlineſs, diligence, fru-
" gality, &c. The beſt compliment which
" can be paid to a young woman, is to
" ſay, that ſhe is not learned.

" When a boy reaches the thirteenth
" year, he is no longer to be admitted
" into the women's apartment: in like
" manner, a girl at that age is not to be
" ſeen in that of the men."

LETTER LXIV.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

SPAIN has no laws againſt idleneſs: every one is at liberty to have nothing to do; and is a member of the commonwealth, without being of any trade or calling.

The government gives itſelf no manner of concern about the people's being employed. A man may have been dead to

to his country forty years before he is buried.

Indolence, far from being held disgraceful, is a qualification for titular distinction. He who can prove an uninterrupted hereditary idleneſs in his family for ſix hundred years paſt, is in a fair way of being inveſted with all the honours of nobility; and this lazy pedigree is more eſteemed than one which has produced ſtateſmen, judges, and land and ſea commanders.

Should a perſon, tired of being idle, go into any buſineſs, or apply himſelf to ſome occupation, he would extremely leſſen his character: the Europeans have an expreſs word for expoſing ſuch abaſement; they call it *degenerating*; and few people at Madrid care to make themſelves deſpicable.

There is no gaining the public eſteem here, but by being good for nothing. Diligence and application are ſo little eſteemed, that indolence muſt neceſſarily encreaſe. The only emulation is to be without any; and the religion, politics, and cuſtom, all perfectly agree in this lethargic ſyſtem.

The

The king of Spain has three hundred thouſand ſubjects ſhut up in convents, purſuant to a vow they have made of ſpending their life in inactivity: fifty thouſand he has, whoſe only buſineſs is to lay a muſket on the ground, take it up again, and lay it on his ſhoulder: it is farther computed, that there are, in this kingdom, twenty thouſand idle maſters, and theſe keep forty thouſand ſervants to attend on their idleneſs.

No ſooner does a Spaniard come to be poſſeſſed of a hundred ounces of ſilver *per annum*, than he leaves off buſineſs, and betakes himſelf to the felicity of being idle all the day long.

From this general indolence ſprings an univerſal ſloth, and the conſequence of this is the public indigence. It was a very wiſe ſaying of one of our emperors, That if there was one idle man in the empire, ſome of his ſubjects muſt ſuffer either hunger or thirſt.

Chriſtian moraliſts are ſtrangely puzzled to find out the cauſe of thoſe many vices, ſo flagrant in Europe, and ſo few of which are ſcarce to be ſeen among the Aſiatics: the cauſe of both is plain; it is that

that the Europeans are allowed to be idle, and the Aſiatics obliged to work.

The depravation of manners cannot riſe to any great height among a people, who are laborious by the very conſtitution of the ſtate: where every one has his appointed buſineſs, vice finds no admittance; whereas, in a nation left to idleneſs, corruption leaks in on every ſide.

LETTER LXV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Superintendant of Religion at* Pekin.

London.

THOUGH the Chriſtian religion eſſentially conſiſts only of theſe few articles, *creation*, *annunciation*, *conception*, *nativity*, *death and reſurrection*, there are ſeveral here of ſo ungrateful a memory as not to have the leaſt remembrance of them; and others, to ſave themſelves the trouble of keeping ſuch things in their heads, do not believe a word of them.

The latter religion, which lies in having none, is very much in vogue here: indeed it is eaſy to be a believer of this ſect; for

it

it requires no manner of penetration, its whole and ſole act of faith being only this ſingle word *nothing*.

The Italians, a ſouthern people of Europe, who make a mock of the moſt ſacred rites and myſteries of religion, call a man in this way of thinking, *diſingannato*, or *undeceived*.

It is not among the commonalty that this ſect had its origin; they are always of a religion which contains ſomething: it came from the great, and was fomented at courts, where every thing, even to the Deity himſelf, is turned into ridicule. The belief of a Providence is left to children and old women; but people of faſhion get over ſuch vulgar prejudices.

If a perſon of quality is ſo preciſe as to practiſe any of the external obſervances of religion, his equals never fail to ridicule him. I believe, God forgive me, ſaid an Engliſh lord lately to another whom he obſerved to go frequently to church, that thou really believeſt there is a God.

Neither in France or England, is there a well-bred man, or a man of any faſhion who imagines there is a Supreme Being. The very repreſentatives of religion have none: ſeveral popes, though ſtiling themſelves

ſelves Chriſt's ſucceſſors, are charged with infidelity: as to the inferior mandarins, whatever their belief may be, they live as if there was no God; which is tantamount.

The wits, the ſcholars, the men of letters, are of the nihilitarian religion. If a writer eminently diſtinguiſhes himſelf, and becomes the admiration of Europe, it is ten to one whether he believes any thing of a God. The noble faculty of the underſtanding, which exalts man to a proximity to the Deity, through a fatality peculiar to the Europeans, debaſes him beneath the brutes. When a mortal has ſpent his life among the moſt abſtract ſciences, and pervaded the ſeveral abyſſes of knowledge, he may be concluded to have attained ſuch a ſublime degree of perfection, as to believe in nothing. Thinkeſt thou, dear Kie-tou-na, that it is worth while being ſo learned only in order to be ignorant of every thing?

LETTER LXVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

MARRIAGES are made up at London the ſame way as at Pekin: ſome go-betweens talk over the affair: the firſt conferences turn on the preſents to be given by the ſuitor to his future bride, and on what the ſpouſe is to bring to her huſband, which they call portion. This being ſettled, and faith plighted on both ſides by proxies, the bridegroom and bride have an interview: this is ſoon followed by a ceremony, which ties them together for life. Care is taken of every thing beforehand, one particular only excepted; I mean, whether the parties will like one another: this indeed is a trifle, beneath minding; as it is not what they marry for, it is not thought of.

It would be a troubleſome taſk to bring an Engliſh young gentlewoman to think that marriage requires ſentiments and delicacy, and that no union can laſt without complacency

complacency and inclination. It is impoſſible ſuch a thing ſhould be; firſt, becauſe love is free, and a prieſt enjoining a young woman to love her huſband, implies conſtraint: but this conſtraint is ſoon ſhaken off, and the firſt thing a young woman does, after a formal marriage, is to look out for a ſecond huſband of another kind; for the firſt marriage is only a foretaſte of the ſubſequent.

In the latter engagement there is no need of go-betweens; the parties ſee one another, talk together, and exchange endearments: beſides, there is this great advantage, that this engagement laſts only whilſt the parties agree, whereas the former remains in force when the cauſes which gave birth to it are quite extinct.

LETTER LXVII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THERE is in all the ſtates of Europe, as it were, a general ballance, which maintains the equilibrium, and preſerves it from being ingroſſed by one prince

prince or two. Thoſe governments which could do much, are withheld by moral cauſes.

France can raiſe five hundred thouſand fighting men; but then the hardſhips of war do not agree with the French. Germany and Italy, being the two theatres of European revolutions, are two graves where that nation is continually burying itſelf.

The French monarchy cannot maintain ſuch prodigious ſwarms of ſoldiers without doing itſelf as much hurt as its enemies. Such is the ſituation of the univerſal republic, that none of its members can graſp at a large power, without ruining that which he poſſeſſes; and to this barrier Europe hitherto owes its preſervation. Many a monarch has paid for his attempts to break through it, and been diſappointed of his aim.

The immenſe number of eccleſiaſtics in Europe, diminiſhing the general population, ſpreads an univerſal debility through the political bodies. The encouragement given to trade retards the impetus of this great machine; and a crowd of callings, ſupported by luxury, enervates the different nations. The greater ſtates

are

are at preſent full of artificers and workmen; and to make ſoldiers of theſe, would be deſtroying that induſtry, which, even by enriching a nation, brings a fatal weakneſs on it.

In all countries the nobility and gentry furniſh only officers; for the ſoldiery, there are houſekeepers and huſbandmen, on whom the burden of war ever falls: and this very reſource hinders a nation from having any ſoldiers; for the conſequence of huſbandmen being forced into the army, is a ſcarcity of corn; hence the country muſt be ſtarved, or thoſe uſeful men return to their former occupation.

Europe has not a prince who is able to carry on a war with his uſual revenue; ſo that the people muſt be loaded with taxes upon taxes; this brings on diſorders, and ſuch deficiencies in the finances, that ſovereigns are very often obliged to conclude a peace at the very height of their ſucceſſes. On ſurveying the ſeveral branches of power in every Chriſtian government, it will be found that there are ſecond cauſes which hinder them from emerging out of their preſent ſtate of mediocrity.

Theſe, dear Kie-tou-na, are reaſons taken from the nature of things; but European policy is not aware of them, being tenacious of its old errors, and never recurring to the firſt general principles. This it is which conſtitutes the ſafety of Europe, and is a better ſecurity to it than all its treaties, negotiations, and continual ſeries of plans of peace and war.

I may add, that particular cauſes ſhall ſometimes hinder the effect of the more general: perhaps it is the power to which England is lately riſen, that upholds the ballance; and if ſhe ſupports the equilibrium in Europe, it may be owing to her continual endeavours to cruſh a large neighbouring body. The queſtion is, Whether her private ambition may not carry her beyond the limits of the general policy.

LET-

LETTER LXVIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE kings of Europe do not all lounge away their time in their palaces: ſome may be ſaid to lead a very laborious life; for inſtance, they who are continually hunting; for this is a very toilſome diverſion.

Some days ago a copy of a modern anecdote was given me, which is to be inſerted in the univerſal hiſtory of the Chriſtian princes; for the European annaliſts are ſure to omit nothing that may immortaliſe the memory of their ſovereigns: the ſubject of this piece is to tranſmit to lateſt poſterity the ſignal feats of four great monarchs now reigning.

A Hunting Anecdote, inſcribed to Poſterity.

In the year of our Lord 1763, four mighty European potentates rode two thouſand leagues of ground in purſuit of game.

They killed a hundred hunters, and ſprained the backs of fifty life-guards, their attendants.

The ſame ſovereigns, within the ſpace of the ſame year, ſpent a thouſand quintals of powder, two thouſand balls, and ſplit two hundred fuzil-barrels.

Extraordinary Atchievements.

Theſe monarchs killed ten thouſand partridges, four thouſand pheaſants, eight thouſand ſnipes, and twenty thouſand quails.

Complete Victories obtained over Furred Beaſts.

They defeated fifty wild boars, five hundred foxes, ten thouſand rabbits, and thirty thouſand hares.

Pitched Battles againſt Horned Beaſts.

They killed five hundred ſtags, two thouſand deer, and four thouſand hinds, &c. &c.

As the chace bears ſome reſemblance to war, thou wilt perhaps be led to imagine that

that theſe monarchs, being ſuch keen ſportſmen, muſt be great warriors: very far from any ſuch thing; for, amidſt all their ſieges and battles, they are never preſent in perſon: they carry on their wars by their generals; and if their parks had afforded no game, they would never have known the uſe of the fuzil.

LETTER LXIX.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

THE diſcovery of the new world has much impaired the old: a diſtemper, then unknown, was brought over, and made a breach on nature, in the very ſource of life and pleaſure. It was a thirſt of gold which occaſioned it; crowds of Spaniards kept continually flocking to America, and returned with freſh infections.

At preſent Europe may be compared to a vaſt infirmary, full of patients. In China, love indeed is ſometimes productive of ſorrow and remorſe; but here it is

almoſt ever followed by pain and diſeaſe. The commerce of women deſtroys both morals and health; ſo that continence is become a neceſſary virtue; and pleaſure muſt be avoided under pain of death. This is Europe's preſent dilemma; it muſt give over peopling itſelf, or remain diſtempered.

As to the pretended remedy, it is ſtill worſe than the diſeaſe: if the application of it ſtops the effects of that diſtemper, it brings on many others; ſo that nature is rather detrimented than advantaged by it: beſides, allowing it that efficacy which phyſicians attribute to it, Europe would be never the better; for, however mercury may purify on one hand, corruption inſinuates itſelf on the other. In ſhort, nothing can cure this great diſeaſed body, but ſevering it from itſelf, and hindering men from any intercourſe with women.

This diſtemper, thanks to the eſtabliſhed ſeparation of the two ſexes, has ſcarce got to any head in Aſia, or we ſhould have radically cured it, like any other diſeaſe: where religion prohibits a communication between the two ſexes, the people have many advantages.

Every

Every rank, in every nation of Europe, is infected with this diſtemper, becauſe they univerſally debauch themſelves with women.

Armies of weak-bodied men ſoon ſink under the hardſhips of a campaign; and this may be one of the reaſons of Europe's having, for theſe two hundred years, been continually at war. Its policy takes fire at its very miſcarriages: councils are perpetually ſhifting, and their reſolutions hurt the people; for ailing princes are naturally uneaſy, and ſeek relief in diſturbances, when it is only to be had in morality.

Spain may be ſaid to be eaten up with this diſeaſe; the ſoundeſt parts of its population are infected; nor marriage, nor even virginity, are ſure preſervatives againſt its malignity. An unhappy climate indeed, where virtue itſelf produces the like effects as vice!

LETTER LXX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

LAST week, the Baronet carried me to an Engliſh widow's, of his acquaintance, where we found a very grave maid, and a very merry wife. The former ſat with a melancholy air, and not a word came from her; the latter, beſides a countenance all fluſhed with joy, was full of talk.

At the ſight of this contraſt, my guide drawing near to me, whiſpered, Have you a mind to ſee a ſhift of ſcenes? and, without giving me time to anſwer, added, Now for a theatrical motion. Then he talked to the unmarried lady, of a man who might ſome time or other be her huſband, and to the married lady, of a man who was her huſband; and, behold, inſtantaneouſly was the machinery changed; the maid became ſprightly and jocular, and the wife dull and ſilent.

The Engliſh girls, on the mention of marriage, are all alive; and the wives, when

when talked to of their huſbands, fall a yawning.

Marriage, here, is like ſome perſpectives, which, at a diſtance, ſeem pleaſing to the eye, but, on a near approach, are found coarſe, and full of blemiſhes: the ceremony once over, down falls the ſplendid front of Hymen, leaving only the bare ſhell.

The cauſe of this is, there is no ſuch thing as virtue in Europe. The moſt ſacred engagement is entered into, only as leading to a deſired gratification, which is followed by diſguſt.

In China, our meaning in marriage is, to live continually with our wives; but here, they take wives to have nothing to ſay to them afterwards. Among the Europeans, marriage ſeems to be one perpetual divorcement.

The Baronet will have it, that this ſeparation is neceſſary, and that without it there would be leſs union: he demonſtrates geometrically, that man and wife would ſhun each other more, did they ſhun each other leſs.

This is another proof, that there is a diſſonance in the manners of the two ſexes in Europe; that both their virtues

and vices are incompatible; in ſhort, that the qualities of men and women are as different as eaſt from weſt.

LETTER LXXI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London

THE beggars in France are at their wits end how to excite compaſſion, Chriſtians having, long ſince, left off giving alms for God's ſake: but the Engliſh poor have ſtill many pleas; ſome aſk charity to be idle, others to be free from the cares of following any buſineſs; one begs for tobacco, another to buy himſelf ſome ſmall beer.

Another advantage they have over the French beggars is, their being allowed to tell people why they teaze them.

The other day, as I was walking along the ſtreets, one aſked me a penny, to burn the Pope: as I never would encourage guilt, I ſhook my head by way of denial, for I look upon it as a very great crime, to give money to a man to put another to death: however, this kind of charity,

charity, implying the bittereſt enmity to the head of the Roman church, is a very good fund to the London beggars, as no good Engliſh proteſtant will refuſe his penny towards an act of ſuch humanity.

It is nothing unuſual to introduce politics in their beggary, aſking ſomewhat to drink to the proſperity of ſuch a party; and if the beggar can but know the principles of him whom he aſks, his buſineſs is done: For they who have this talent, may afford to get drunk twice a week; whereas they who aſk alms only for God's ſake, may think themſelves well off if they can make beaſts of themſelves once a month.

LETTER LXXII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THERE is a mighty queſtion in France and England, which is never brought to an iſſue; whether the ſtage in general does not do more harm than good. Opinions are extremely divided: the *literati*, who are ſticklers for the fine arts,

arts, have written whole libraries in proof of its utility; and the eccleſiaſtical mandarins, who are the overſeers of the national manners, have written as many to demonſtrate the contrary.

The latter are perſonally concerned to cenſure what they prohibit; they may as well keep the doors of their pagodas ſhut at the play-houſe hours, for no-body minds the tolling of their bells. The former ſay that the ſtage promotes virtue, and leads to heaven; and the latter affirm it to be a nurſery of vice, plunging thoſe, who frequent it, into hell. Now which is to be believed? For my part, I am apt to think that the former may be in the right, and the latter not quite miſtaken.

That the theatre may be inſtrumental to virtue, is not abſolutely impoſſible: it is, as it were, a looking-glaſs of human life; but care ſhould be taken that it be true and even, that mankind may not appear quite miſ-ſhapen and diſtorted. They who eſpouſe the dramatical religion, will have it to be a kind of moral ſermon; but that cannot be, for in no religion is a good ſermon to be made from a bad text.

Love,

Love, that blind impetuous paſſion, which minds neither laws nor cuſtoms, is the baſis of its morality. A dramatic performance, in which this ſhould be reduced to precepts, in order to regulate the motions of the heart, would be like a ſermon offending againſt the rules of the drama.

All that the morality of the ſtage can do for virtue, is to ſacrifice victims to it, when on the point of perpetrating a crime; and this very thing ſhews its inability to prevent, and the faint oppoſition to vice.. The hero's ſtrength ſerves only to illuſtrate his fall: if he overcomes one weakneſs, it is from the ſway of another: he either yields to love, or gives himſelf up to deſpair: he is either ſoft, or raſh.

Another infectious ſource in the ſtage, is the channel through which this morality is conveyed. Men vicious by profeſſion exhort the public to turn from their vices; they recommend a perfection which they themſelves have no feeling of, and declaim on duties which they do not practiſe. In a word, it is infamy itſelf, in perſon, preaching up morality. Known proſtitutes, who openly trade in debauchery, exhort to continence; yet, were

ſuch

ſuch converſions to take place, where would all their gains be? Had their fine ſpeeches any effect, they muſt betake themſelves to hard labour for a ſubſiſtence: their buſineſs is quite the reverſe, it is to promote corruption: the rigid chaſtity, which they boaſt of, laſts no longer than the play; when the curtain falls, they return to their uſual behaviour.

One of the chief cauſes of the little progreſs made by virtue on the ſtage, is the place itſelf. The performance may be calculated for a reformation of manners; but people go to the play only to debauch themſelves. It is the public rendezvous of vice, where virtue is expoſed to the greater dangers, as the two ſexes meet there purely from vicious motives.

To make the ſtage beneficial, the theatre ſhould be quite demoliſhed, and built on another plan. It is not ſo much the ſpring itſelf, as the conduits, which ſtand in need of being cleanſed. Care ſhould be taken, that all the outlets of the theatre, leading to virtue, ſhould not be in the leaſt corrupted, and that debauchery be no longer the way to chaſtity. After all, it

is to be apprehended that this long-winded labour would prove of little ſervice: for as the Europeans abuſe the doctrine of their religion, and offend the Deity even in his very temples; much more will they abuſe the morality of the ſtage; much more will they prophane the ſanctuary of the theatre.

LETTER LXXIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Superintendant of Religion at* Pekin.

London.

CHRISTIANS ſay, that God became man, and died a painful death on a croſs, to make them better: if ſo, he may be ſaid to have died to little purpoſe, their doctors of morality themſelves owning that wickedneſs is at a greater height now than it was before the coming of Chriſt. At leaſt, it is certain that idolaters were ſtrangers to half the vices, for which the profeſſors of the Meſſiah's religion are notorious.

A natural depravity has overſpread all Chriſtendom. Lying, evil ſpeaking, ſlander,

der, theft, murder, drunkenneſs, rancour, revenge, treachery, &c. &c. are common vices among the believers of the Goſpel. It is otherwiſe with the Turks, Indians, and Japaneſe: thoſe people have, in all things, a natural candour, no ſpark of which is to be ſeen among Chriſtians.

Were two religions put to my option, the profeſſors of one exemplarily virtuous, and the others immerſed in debauchery and wickedneſs, I would declare for the former, whatever proofs could be given for the truth of the other.

It is ſaid that none but a religion of ſuch ſanctity could ſupport it ſelf amidſt the preſent flagitiouſneſs and corruption; but may it not be this very corruption which keeps the Chriſtians from any inclination to change their belief? for I own it is very convenient living in a religion, which, though it condemns vice, tolerates thoſe who profeſs it.

LETTER LXXIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

IF we conſider matters rightly, the European monarchs, dear Kie-tou-na, ſeem to me ignorant of their own intereſts: they would acquire glory, yet make it their ſtudy to do every thing which tends to bring their ſubjects into ſervitude; two things diametrically oppoſite: it is like practiſing vice to grow virtuous.

Every European court has two projects, one to debaſe the nation, and the other to aggrandiſe it: theſe two plans they purſue with like eagerneſs; they are ever intent on the former, and never loſe ſight of the latter. Theſe two points of view are ſo complicated, that I dare ſay, an European king would go without glory rather than owe it to the freedom of his ſubjects, and would lay aſide all endeavours after greatneſs rather than attain it by their glory. But herein they are inconſiſtent: ſubjects may be conſidered as the chief inſtruments

inſtruments of heroiſm; they are both its cauſe and effect. It is the people who conſtitute ſtrength and power; princes are only the machine to put them in motion. Now this ſtrength and power are a never-failing conſequence of political liberty.

I have read the hiſtory of moſt European nations, and, on comparing the ages of their greatneſs, I find that they have been cowardly or courageous, that is, weak or powerful, as they have been more or leſs ſlaves. How ſhould theſe princes be great, whilſt they themſelves vitiate the ſource of their greatneſs? They are for ingrafting their ſtrength on weakneſs and infamy.

The world is aſtoniſhed, that amidſt the preſent revolutions of Europe, a monarchy, with ſuch means of gaining victories, meets with nothing but miſcarriages and defeats; but they do not conſider that there is a firſt cauſe, which is the increaſe of deſpotiſm: now this is continually weakening the nation. What ſignifies ſending numerous armies into the field, without previouſly making them ſoldiers? This is the key to France's weakneſs; the firſt cauſe of this ſtrange revolution: not that

that this nation is not intrinſically brave; that has ever been its character; but the principles of its heroiſm are corrupted. Let but its deſpotiſm be curtailed, that is, remove the cauſe of its weakneſs; and it will ſoon recover its former ſplendour.

LETTER LXXV.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, *to the Mandarin* Cham-pi-pi, *at* London.

Madrid.

THE other day I was carried to a lady's who keeps a gaming-table: this at preſent is a calling in Spain, as well as in France. Companies meet every day at her houſe, whoſe chief talent is, to handle cards: and a very advantageous one it is to the lady, for ſhe conſtantly makes at leaſt a hundred thouſand rials a year of it, living very magnificently, and appearing every where with as much confidence as if miſtreſs of an honourable independency.

She indeed carries on her trade with ſome decency: her ſervant places wax lights and

and cards on the tables, for which he is paid, and his miſtreſs takes the profit to herſelf. This may be called living on the paſſions of others, and levying a revenue from vice. This ſcandalous profeſſion is here limited to the nobility; only women of rank are allowed to entertain bad company, and make a gaming-houſe of their manſions. Moſt of the widows of quality, who are inclined to preſerve what virtue they have, keep gaming-tables.

Whoever has no ſkill in play, or would not cheat, has no buſineſs in theſe aſſemblies. They who come here, muſt either cheat or be cheated; there is no other alternative. On my being preſented to the lady of the houſe, I was deſired to play; but I gave for excuſe, that being a foreigner, I did not underſtand the European games. This anſwer raiſed a ſour look in the lady, and ſhe plainly appeared vexed that any one ſhould come to her houſe, to excuſe themſelves from doing what all others come there purpoſely to do. My Spaniſh guide not having the ſame plea, and, unluckily for his purſe, being no Chineſe, played and loſt his money; which, in theſe houſes, is generally one and the ſame thing.

In

In the mean time, obſerving the miſtreſs's behaviour, I perceived ſhe minded only one thing, which was the placing companies round the tables. No ſooner was one party ended than ſhe endeavoured immediately to make another, and never ſeemed quite eaſy but when all were buſy. Thou canſt not think that a hundred thouſand rials a year is worth the contempt with which women of ſo bad a profeſſion are treated. But here it is anſwered, that one muſt live. True; but not by infamy.

LETTER LXXVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, *to the Mandarin* Kie-tou-na, *at* Pekin.

London.

THERE is no continent on the earth where ſuch a noiſe is made about liberty as in Europe; and it is the part of the world where there is the leaſt of it. Every ſtate has its particular conſtitution, which comprehends the privileges of the people; but theſe are now mere phantoms of rights, utterly inſignificant.

I readily

I really believe the ſocieties formed from the ruins of the Roman empire to have been ſo conſtituted, that the people ſhould not be mere ſlaves; and the uſurpers themſelves did not mean to eſtabliſh an abſolute deſpotiſm: but in proceſs of time an event fell out, which put an end to the freedom of the community, and on it is founded the general hiſtory of the ſlavery of Europe.

The Chriſtian kings, who, long after the extinction of the Roman empire, had lived among their ſubjects without any armed attendants, deſired a body-guard, under pretence that ſome diſaffected perſons were carrying on dangerous deſigns againſt them. Soon after they demanded to keep large bodies of troops in pay: artillery being likewiſe neceſſary, arſenals were built every where, and well ſtored with offenſive and defenſive weapons. Thus furniſhed, did they commence their deſpotic ſcheme. Till then they had uſed to ſpeak to their people with ſome regard, and even timidity; but their arguments being now ſeconded by great guns, they expreſſed themſelves in another tone.

There are at preſent three princes in Europe, whoſe joint forces make up no leſs than a million. Now thinkeſt thou that

that with this prodigious multitude of ſoldiers the people of theſe three countries can be very free? Theſe armies, it is ſaid, protect the people againſt foreign ſervitude; but they impoſe a domeſtic ſlavery.

The commencement of military power proved the period of the civil conſtitution; all adminiſtration of juſtice ceaſed, and the tribunals found themſelves overmatched by the force of the ſovereign.

It is not the depravation of manners, the ſlackneſs of the laws, the corruption of the people, nor luxury, nor indulgence, nor eaſe, nor riches, which have deſtroyed European liberty; it is the ſovereigns keeping large bodies of regular troops in their pay. Theſe are the chief inſtruments of the general deſpotiſm, being always ready to obey the ſovereign's order; and the more violent and tyrannical it is, the more eager are they in the execution of it.

END of VOL. V.

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